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VOL. III.

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SOME  
THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION.

BY  
JOHN LOCKE, ESQ.

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Doctrina vires promovet insitas.  
Rectique cultus pectora cherant  
Utcumque defecere mores,  
Dedecrant bene nata culpæ.

HOR. lib. iv. od. 4.

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WITH NOTES,  
AND AN  
Historical Account of the Progress of Education  
IN  
EGYPT, PERSIA, CRETE, SPARTA, ATHENS, ROME, AMONG THE  
EARLY CHRISTIANS, AND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY  
J. A. ST. JOHN.

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# CONTENTS.

## PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

	PAGE
System of education among the Egyptians	iv
National song of Egypt	v
Principle of education in despotie states	vi
System of education among the Persians	viii
Divisions of youth into classes	ix
The Baron von Altenstein	—
Nature of instruction among the Persians	x
Diet of Persian boys	xi
Discipline of youth	xii
Passion for hunting	xiii
Exercises of the youths	xiv
Results of the Persian system	xv
Conquests of the Elder Cyrus	xvii
Anecdote of King Cambyzes	xviii
Anecdote of a shepherd's wife	xx
Education in the Homeric ages	xxi
Pædagogic institutions of Crete	xxii
Division of youth into numerous classes	xxiii
Education of the Spartan youth	xxiv
Gymnastics invented by the Dorians	xxvi
Ignorance of the Spartans	xxviii
Music and Dancing	xxix
Education of the Athenians	xxx
Influence of political ambition	xxxii
Sketch of Athenian school-boys	xxxiii
Influence of poetry in education	xxxiv
Homer, the Bible of the Greeks	xxxvi
Study of music at Athens	xxxvii
Education of the Romans	xxxviii
Unspiritual character of the Romans	xl
Effects of despotism	xliv
Introduction of Christianity	xl v
Study of the early Christians	—
Inconsistency of the Abbé Fleury	xlvi
Errors of the prevailing systems	xl vii

	PAGE
St. Augustin's Confessions	xlix
Study of Greek among the Christians	1
Homer and Virgil	li
African pronunciation of Latin	lii
Charlemagne's reformation	—
Value of the Monks	liv
Studies of the Arabs and Moors	lv
Damascus, Bagdad, and Cairo	lvii
Studies in Europe during the middle ages	lviii
Cosmo de' Medici	lix
Education in Italy	lxi
Commencement of modern education	lxii
Conclusion	lxiii

---

Dedication to Mr. Clarke	3
Definition of happiness	7
Plato's idea of education	8
Management of infancy	9
Anecdote of a Scythian	10
Maltese and Arab children	11
Cause of headaches	12
Leaky shoes	13
Cold baths	15
Miraculous wells	16
Swimming—Anecdote of Dr. Franklin	18
Spartan laws against getting fat	20
Checking perspiration	21
Clothes—strait lacing—Female beauty	23
Small feet of the Chinese—Diet	24
French cookery	25
Meals of the ancients	27
Dining at sunset—Eastern custom	28
Meals of children	29
Fruit	32
Hours of sleep and exercise	35
Waking children—Anecdote of Montaigne	37
Medicining of children	38
Education, the root of manners and abilities	44
Anecdote of Plato	46
Ill effects of indulgence	47
Encouragement to vanity	49
Love of truth	50
Indulgence of appetite	52
Conduct of a father towards his son	55
Theory of punishment	57
Difficulties of the subject	62
Notion of the ancients—of Montaigne	—

	PAGE
Application of rewards ... ..	63
Praise and commendation ... ..	67
Cooperation of servants ... ..	69
Authority of parents ... ..	73
Habits of children ... ..	75
Theory of politeness—Isocrates and Chesterfield ... ..	79
Dancing—Anecdote of Sophocles ... ..	81
Influence of company ... ..	85
The acquiring of virtue ... ..	88
Beauty of Athenian education ... ..	90
Progress of vice ... ..	93
Dutch fleets in the Medway—Old Noll ... ..	96
Force of Example ... ..	97
Learning on compulsion ... ..	101
Evil of hiring nurses ... ..	105
Reasoning with children ... ..	110
Whipping, reasons <i>pro</i> and <i>con</i> ... ..	113
Ancient and modern languages ... ..	116
Montaigne's ideas of a tutor ... ..	119
Wealth—Locke's and Aristotle's notions ... ..	121
Learning less gainful than trencher-making ... ..	123
Lilius Gyraldus—Montaigne—Roscoe ... ..	124
Courage, learning, wit, &c. ... ..	126
Helvétius's idea of <i>bon ton</i> ... ..	128
Knowledge of the world—Anecdote of Aurungzebe ... ..	130
Management of youth—Isocrates—Terence ... ..	133
Art of reading mankind—Polonius's advice to Laertes ... ..	137
Fashionable learning of the schools ... ..	139
Mediocrity in learning—Anecdote of Agricola ... ..	141
Government of youth—Familiarity ... ..	144
Reverence of parents ... ..	149
Management of temper ... ..	150
Respect for wealth ... ..	153
Institutions and manners of the Athenians ... ..	155
Curiosity of children—Anecdote ... ..	158
Recreation ... ..	159
Liberality.—Anecdote of Ptolemy Lagus ... ..	163
Crying of children ... ..	165
Courage and fortitude ... ..	171
Early fright—often the cause of cowardice ... ..	174
Natives of the Philippine isles—Fire an animal ... ..	176
Imitation of Spartan discipline ... ..	178
Inhuman punishment of cruelty ... ..	181
Habit of shedding blood—Anecdote ... ..	—
Arguing with the pistol ... ..	183
Contempt of the wealthy for the poor ... ..	189
Curiosity of children ... ..	186
Habit of sauntering ... ..	191
"Tales of the Ramad'han ... ..	195
Play-games ... ..	199

	PAGE
Knowledge of God ... ..	205
Spirits and goblins ... ..	207
Anecdote of a madman ... ..	209
Truth and good-nature ... ..	210
Good breeding ... ..	212
Censure—delicate raillery ... ..	216
Anecdote of M. Pisto ... ..	217
Interruption in conversation ... ..	222
Notions of French politeness ... ..	224
Calmness of the Indians—Japanese ... ..	225
Learning—Greek and Latin ... ..	227
Inconsistency of Locke ... ..	230
Forcing the intellects of children ... ..	232
Habit of gambling ... ..	233
Use of fables ... ..	236
History of “Reynard the Fox” ... ..	237
Teaching of religion ... ..	240
Arts of design—Drawing ... ..	243
Origin of short-hand ... ..	244
History of Montaigne’s education ... ..	246
Origin of interlineary translations ... ..	251
Advantages of gentleness in teaching ... ..	256
Teaching of Latin : first authors ... ..	258
Study of Grammar ... ..	259
Importance of a good style ... ..	262
Study of the English language neglected ... ..	—
Real value of Greek and Latin ... ..	263
When Grammar is to be taught ... ..	264
Sense for Latin verses ... ..	267
Improvement in delivery ... ..	269
False notions of poetry ... ..	271
Exercise of the memory ... ..	272
Idea of the powers of memory ... ..	274
Enumeration of other studies ... ..	279
Chronology, how to be studied ... ..	283
Neglect of logic and rhetoric ... ..	289
Farther remarks upon style ... ..	292
Idea of natural philosophy ... ..	297
Study of the Scriptures ... ..	298
Cudworth’s Intellectual System ... ..	302
La Bruyere’s recommendation of languages ... ..	305
Dancing, music, &c. ... ..	309
Fencing, much in fashion in former times ... ..	312
Learning a trade ... ..	315
What that trade should be ... ..	316
Various kinds of recreation ... ..	317
Travelling : when it should be undertaken ... ..	326
Conclusion ... ..	332

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PRELIMINARY  
DISCOURSE.

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## PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

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— All the pious duties which we owe  
Our parents, friends, our country, and our God,  
The seeds of every virtue here below,  
From discipline alone, and early culture flow.]

WEST.

HOWEVER numerous may be the systems of education adopted in different countries, and in distant ages of the world, the object proposed to be attained has everywhere been ostensibly the same: viz. by care and training, to render the body and mind of man apt instruments for fulfilling the design of his existence—the acquisition of happiness, social and domestic. But, in endeavouring to effect this purpose, mankind have had recourse to an almost infinite variety of contrivances, each age innovating upon the practices of the preceding one; each nation, each university, each public school, nay, every celebrated teacher, imagining some ingenious improvements upon everything previously existing in the world. The question, however, now is, whether, after so much activity has been exercised, and all the wonderful discoveries with which the science of pedotrophy is said to be enriched, the world is any nearer than it was of old to sound notions on the subject; or whether, after all, it be not rather an art than a science, depending far

more on the genius of the individual who exercises it, than on any body of rules, or plan of operations which it would be possible to devise.

To arrive at any determinate notions on a subject, in which, as the father of a family, I am myself deeply interested, I found it necessary to examine the theories and practice of other times and countries; and, although space is here wanting to give, in detail, the result of all these researches, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to preface the masterly treatise of Locke by a glance over the notions antecedently prevalent in the world. A compilation, however, of plans, rules, and regulations, or even an analysis of pædagogic legislation, would by no means answer my purpose. What I aim at is, to give the pervading spirit of education during the ages preceding our philosopher's labours, which, almost entirely divested of visionary systematizing, have effected more towards introducing the decisions of common sense into this branch of politics,—for such it is,—than those of any other man, perhaps, since the days of Aristotle.

The practices of ancient nations in educating their children, with the exception of the Greeks and Romans, are but very imperfectly known to us. Among the ancient Egyptians, who adhered to the system of castes still in force among the Hindoos, a different plan was no doubt adopted by every grand division of the people; and the object being, not to call into activity all the nation's energies, but to regulate for the advantage of the king and priests so much of it as could not be suppressed, or, in-

deed, dispensed with, they, as do still the Brahmins, inculcated the belief that all their institutions derived their origin from God, and must, without reserve or scrutiny, be obeyed to the letter. All kinds of knowledge which could confer power or consideration, or withdraw the mind from the tyranny of superstition, were monopolized by the priestly legislators. The people were permitted to know no more than what fitted them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the clergy, who, from their universities of Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, issued those peremptory mandates at which both prince and subject trembled. (1) There, in fact, the sacerdotal caste were every thing, the people nothing. All their monuments represent the triumph of superstition and its ministers: human sacrifices, cringing inferiors, domineering priests and princes. Accordingly, their civilization was inflexible and unprogressive, their arts rude and uninformed by a soul; and the noblest of all arts, the art of painting the passions in harmonious numbers, was prohibited or unknown; (2) and the

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(1) Περὶ μὲν Αἴγυπτον οὐδ' ἔξέσται βασιλεία χωρὶς ἱερατικῆς ἄρχειν. (*Plato. Politicus.* tom. iv. p. 319, Bekk.)

(2) Herodotus, indeed, ii. 79, is supposed by *πάτριους νόμους* to mean "national hymns." But this opinion, though supported by Wesseling, is inconsistent with what follows in the same chapter, where the historian says, the "Maneros" was their first and only song: *ἀοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρῶτην καὶ μόνην σφίσι γενέσθαι*. By *νόμους* above we must therefore understand "laws." Had it signified any species of poem, it is hardly to be supposed that Dio Chrysostom, who, doubtless was well acquainted with Herodotus, would have asserted positively that poetry was inserted in the 'Index Expurgatorius' of Egypt.

absence of poetry from their literature, which could only have arisen from its wanting a place in their sympathies, will convince us that, not only did they never make any remarkable progress in the other liberal arts, but that they never could.

Some idea, indeed, might be formed of the system of education pursued by the ancient nations of the East, from that still prevalent among them; for their political institutions remaining in spirit the same, no great change can have been effected in the art of preparing men to pay obedience to those institutions. There the basis of all teaching is the inculcation of a slavish obedience to the prince, who, being despotic, is himself supposed to be unteachable, and incapable of reason. This principle is fertile in consequences. As the monarch exacts blind obedience from every one around him, all those who come forth from his presence, and represent him to the people, require likewise, in their turn, equal servility from those next below them, and these from the next; until tyranny projects its feelers into every cottage and hovel in the empire. Montesquieu, therefore, is right in considering *fear* to be the governing principle in despotic states. <sup>(3)</sup> Every person fears the man immediately above him; and he who stands upper-

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Παρά τῇ Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδὲ ἐμμέτρως λέγεσθαι, μηδὲ εἶναι ποίησιν τοπαράπαν· ἐπίστασθαι γάρ, ὅτι φάρμακον τοῦτο ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν. (*Orat.* xi. tom. i. p. 324, *Reiske.*)

<sup>(3)</sup> *Esprit des Lois*, iii. 9. See also the able commentary of Destutt de Tracy, p. 25—41.

most fears all. This deep-rooted reciprocal apprehension is the key to every thing in such forms of government. It is the glass through which the great contemplate their dependants, and their dependants them. But this fear implies something else which accompanies it, and is its cause: it implies the existence and the consciousness of injustice.

All being aware that injustice is among them, it becomes every man's endeavour to make it his ally, or, if he fail in this, to escape from its fangs. The weak employ their wits in devising how to screen themselves from the oppression of the strong; while the latter, backed by all the traditionary prejudices of their race, put every art in practice to widen the space between themselves and the poor, by wringing from them whatever they possess, even the very means of subsistence. This is constantly done by Mohammed Ali in Egypt, and by tyrannic landlords all over the world. To these governing classes it is all-important to possess the means of influencing opinion, that master-tyrant, by which everything in this world is swayed. This, in fact, it is that enables the privileged orders in several European states to derive vast revenues from the soil, while the productive classes, the creators of wealth, are from time to time reduced to contend with the inferior animals for the food which nature has provided for them.

To revert, however, to the practices of Oriental antiquity. History commemorates but one attempt made by an Asiatic nation to introduce among

themselves any thing like a liberal system of moral culture; and even of this the account delivered down to us is so evidently interpolated by the historian with ideas palpably of Greek origin, that we scarcely know how to confide even in the remainder. But the picture, though rather, perhaps, a suggestion of what Xenophon thought desirable, than a resemblance of something which actually existed, is too curious and full of interest to be omitted. The forum of the Persian capital, situated in front of the palace and government <sup>(4)</sup> offices, instead of being appropriated, like the Grecian agoræ, to the purposes of business, was set apart for the exercises and dwelling of the youth. Market-stuff, and every kind of merchandize, usually found in the bazaars and public places of the East, were banished to another place, that the harmony and good order of the stripling aristocrats might not be disturbed by the clamour and buffoonery of the chapmen, of whom Agorakrites, in the "Knights," may probably be regarded as a not unfavourable specimen. The parallelogram was next divided, with a precision not unworthy of Mr. Owen of Lanark, into four parts, of which the first was appropriated to the boys, the second to the youth, the third to full-grown men, the fourth to persons beyond the military age.

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<sup>(4)</sup> Müller, in his Dissertation on the Thymelè, p. 253, conjectures that in the old Greek cities also the ἀγορά usually lay in front of the palaces of the ἀνακτες; which is exceedingly probable.

Every morning at day-break the first and third classes made their appearance in the square; the elders arrived at what hour they thought fit, or might altogether absent themselves, except on certain days, when all were expected to be present; but, unless married, in which case they might occasionally remain at home, the youth slept, or passed the night under arms about the palace. Over each of these classes were appointed twelve inspectors, one for every Persian tribe. Those who had charge of the boys were selected from among the elders, for their skill in the art of education. The class of grown men supplied leaders for the youth, whose minds and morals they were expected to improve; the men themselves were under the superintendence of inspectors chosen from their own body; and even the elders were watched narrowly in the performance of their duty by persons appointed for the purpose. In what the duties of each class consisted, Xenophon is at some pains to explain, in order that it may, as he says, be seen how carefully the institutions of Persia were adapted to generate virtuous habits among the citizens.

There can be little doubt that the Baron Von Altenstein, in consolidating his very artificial, and, in many respects, admirable system of education for the Prussian dominions, had before him this extraordinary sketch of Xenophon. Several of his regulations certainly recal the *Cyropædia* to mind, even in the details; though the ancient system still more strongly breathed a military spirit. Let the reader carefully compare what follows with Victor

Cousin's Report; bearing, at the same time, in mind that the Persian institutions, as described by Xenophon, aim at creating a higher state of society, virtues more heroic, because more allied to freedom and equality, and a more vigorous exercise of public opinion than would, perhaps, be found compatible with the safety of the despotic German state.

The boys who frequented the Persian forum were expected diligently to apply themselves to the study of justice, theoretical and practical; this knowledge holding, among them, the rank appropriated in Greece to science and literature. To facilitate its acquisition their instructors were generally occupied, during the greater part of the day, in giving practical lessons, by judging and deciding between them. For in this miniature world, as among mankind in general, mutual accusations took place, of theft, robbery, violence, deception, calumny, or other grave offences.<sup>(5)</sup> The guilty, and those who brought forward unfounded accusations, were punished. In this court cognizance was taken of a crime, which, though seldom made the ground of an action at law, is often the cause of deadly enmities—I mean ingratitude;—and whoever was found guilty of omitting, when in his power, to repay an act of kindness, underwent severe chastisement. For it was thought that per-

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(5) A practice very similar was introduced by Mr. Hill into his establishment at Hazelwood near Birmingham; and, I believe, with useful results.

sons of such a temper of mind must be unmindful of the benefits they derived from Heaven, from their parents, their country, or their friends; and to ingratitude naturally succeeds impudence, the parent of every disgraceful action.

Another virtue instilled by the force of example into the minds of the youthful Persians was temperance; for, beholding their elders, leading constantly before their eyes, a sober and temperate life, they were almost irresistibly impelled by the principle of imitation to practice what they witnessed. To this also the frugal simplicity of their diet greatly conduced; for it was expected that they should follow the example of their instructors, who, though advanced in years, were careful to abstain from eating or drinking, until the permission of their superiors was signified. From the beginning, moreover, of their education, they were delivered from that mistaken tenderness of mothers, and mischievous indulgence of servants, so much deprecated by Locke; and, to secure the utmost regularity and equality, took their meals with their preceptors, at the hours appointed by the state. However, so democratic on this point were their feelings, that they carried along with them to school their own food, consisting of bread and cresses; (*κάρδαμον*,) together with a kothon, or earthen cup, that, if thirsty, they might help themselves from the nearest brook. The remainder of their instruction, which, it will be perceived was neither very complicated nor very extensive, consisted in learning the use of the bow, and, like the Orientals of our

own days, to throw the jereed. (ἀκοντίζειν.) Such was their education up to the age of sixteen or seventeen, when, upon passing into the class of epheboi, or youth, they were subjected to a different kind of discipline.

During the ten years immediately following their entrance into this second class, they lodged, as we have already observed, in the precincts of the palace, that they might form a guard to the city, and acquire temperate and manly habits; this period of life being confessedly the most critical. Similar reflections lead, no doubt, to similar practices; but it is worthy of remark that, on this point, Xenophon's Persians seem to have imitated the Athenians and Spartans, among whom youth was subjected to a more rigid superintendence than boyhood. In the early ages of the Persian monarchy, these young men constituted a kind of armed police, holding themselves always in readiness to execute the orders of the magistrates. This employment, actively exercising both mind and body, was an useful preparative to a military life; but the Socratic philosopher attributes much greater efficacy to the chase, to which they were led several times in the month by their king, who on these occasions took along with him one half of the guard.

Their hunting equipment, described *con amore* by Xenophon, consisted of a bow, a quiver, a small battle-axe, or a hunting-knife in a sheath, a light shield, and two javelins, one to throw, the other for close fighting. The chase, therefore,

among them was a matter of public concern, an important branch of education, and for that reason entrusted to their first magistrate, who led, as in war; both engaging personally in the pursuit of the game, and taking care that every other person did the same thing. Soldiers, indeed, have generally been great sportsmen, particularly our English soldiers, who, like the Greeks, frequently, even when in active service, find time for their favourite amusement; a circumstance which General Foy animadverts on with more warmth than judgment in his history of the Peninsular Wars. For, undoubtedly no kind of exercise can be better adapted to nerve and invigorate the body, since it habituates men to early rising, to endure heat and cold, to ride, to walk, to run, and where, as in Persia, the game often consisted of fierce and powerful animals, there was need of considerable courage, when the hunter found himself unexpectedly, perhaps, exposed to their greatest fury in their lairs.

On these occasions, when exercise communicated a keen edge to the appetite, the youth carried along with them a more plentiful dinner than that of the boys, though of the same kind. While the pursuit of the game continued, however, they never paused to dine, but deferred it to the evening; and if the same thing happened on the morrow they counted those two days as one, since one day's provisions only were consumed. This they did with a view to accustom themselves to

abstinence, that, should the circumstances of war render it necessary, they might be able cheerfully to support it. The game, when they took any, gave a relish to their bread; if not, their cresses were at hand. Nor let any one imagine, says the philosopher, that such food must have been distasteful to them, or that their palates rebelled against water. Let him consider how delicious even a barley crust appears to a hungry man, and how sweet to the thirsty a draught from a cool stream !

Those divisions of the class that remained at home, were not, in the meantime, idle. They amused themselves with repeating the exercises they had learned in boyhood, shooting with the bow, and hurling the jereed, dividing into parties, and contending against each other. To promote emulation, and call forth their greatest energies, public matches were set on foot, and prizes appointed for the winners ; and the members of the tribe in which were found the greatest number of fair, bold, and skilful players not only lavished praise and honour on the actual leaders of the youth, but likewise on those who had superintended their training in boyhood. Other circumstances in their education show how thoroughly the system was pervaded by the principle of utility. While approaching thus, under the guidance of the state, the threshold of manhood, they were taught to consider themselves in hostility towards the wicked, being employed by the magis-

trate in mounting guard over the city, in pursuing and apprehending thieves, and in many other offices requiring force or agility.

In this class they remained ten years, with which their education may, perhaps, be supposed to have terminated. But to comprehend the wisdom of their training, it is necessary to understand what kind of life they were designed to lead when men, that it may be seen whether the means were nicely adapted to the end. For twenty-five years from their entrance within the pale of manhood, their life was regulated after the following manner: in the first place, they always, like the *epheboi*, held themselves in readiness to execute the magistrates' orders in all things requiring the exertions of robust and prudent men. When called upon active military service, they no longer, as in the former class, went to the field armed with the javelin or the bow, but prepared for close fight, breasted with steel, bearing in the left hand a small round buckler, and in the right a *Kōpis*, or short sword, exactly as the Persians are represented in works of art.

Except the teachers of the boys, all public functionaries were chosen from this class. But, when their twenty-five years of manhood were fulfilled, and they were turned of fifty, they entered into the class of elders, who, not being by law required to pass the frontiers on military service, remained constantly at home, as judges of their nation, to whose decisions, even in matters of life and death, all causes public and private were submitted.

With them rested the choice also of magistrates; and if any Persian, youth or man, transgressed the laws, they had power to expel him from his tribe, to which he could never be restored, but continued all his life a dishonoured outcast.

This curious picture of ancient Persian life, though invested with a somewhat Utopian air, may however have been during a short period realized, the government being a military aristocracy, not unlike that of Crete and Sparta; and the rigid system of discipline, above described, created, perhaps, those hardy and high-minded soldiers with which the elder Cyrus subdued the whole of western Asia. Admission into this privileged class was not difficult. Every Persian who could furnish his son with the requisite frugal diet, and dispense with his labour, possessed the right of sending him to this school of virtue. But it was necessary to begin at the beginning; for none but those who had passed their boyhood in the first class could be admitted into the second, or exercise any public office of trust or emolument. No trace, however, is discoverable of the Hindoo or Egyptian doctrine of castes. The idea of birth is rejected. A pecuniary qualification, and that very moderate, was all that was necessary at the outset; and, afterwards, education and virtue became paramount.<sup>(6)</sup>

Had such a system of education long obtained in Persia, the history of the ancient world must

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(<sup>6</sup>) *Cyropæd.* i. 2.

have been reversed. But Cyrus, by introducing the naked monarchical principle into the government, and concentrating all power and authority in a single hand, subverted the institutions of his country, gave birth to the desire of self-aggrandizement; and whereas he found the monarch only the first among equals, he left him a vain-glorious aspiring creature, demanding to be approached with a reverence and awe due only to God. With this political change a modification in the system of training youth was necessarily connected. The science of politics was now, as elsewhere in the east, based upon superstition, religious and civil. The prince was worshipped as a divinity. His word became law. His example the standard of moral excellence, at least tacitly; for being, as in the barbarous governments of the north, "the fountain of honour," to recommend themselves to his favour, and obtain "the honours" in his power to bestow, men would naturally seek to resemble him, and be virtuous or vicious according to the fashion that happened to prevail at court, where, if my Lord Clarendon may be believed, a very base and vulgar code of morals and feelings generally infects the atmosphere. Men were now taught to reverence their "*betters*," a word which was soon found to signify, not persons more virtuous or noble-minded than themselves; but individuals who by cringing servility, and every species of infamous compliance, had gained the ear of the prince. Practically, therefore, the ancient system of education was overthrown; and

virtue, by implication, was declared to be not good, since the powerful satrap, however vicious, was to be considered *better* than the poor man, notwithstanding the piety of his soul, and the purity of his morals.

Ignorance and prejudice, however, were the hinges upon which every thing turned; and the example afforded by this ancient monarchy suffices of itself to show how superior are the results obtained by cultivating the intellect, to any that can possibly arise from merely disciplining the manners, and confining the attention to simply practical views. For, had care been taken to inculcate a sound theory of the original equality and rights of man, Cyrus would not have found his countrymen so ready to pass under the yoke; whereas, their habits of obedience, and notions of subordination, not being based on good speculative principles, only disposed them to enslave themselves and others. History furnishes innumerable anecdotes in proof of these views; but I shall content myself with the following.

“What opinion do the Persians entertain of me?” Cambyzes one day inquired of Prexaspes, a courtier who had almost grown old in his confidence. Knowing that what he should say would be displeasing to his master, Prexaspes approached the truth with trembling, at once desirous of performing his duty, and preserving his head. “Sire,” he replied, “in all other things they think your conduct under the guidance of consummate wisdom; but venture, at the same time, to disapprove of your

fondness for wine." "Hah!" exclaimed the monarch, "do they then suppose me to be a drunkard, devoid of understanding? Well, you shall presently discover whether the madness be in my subjects or me. Observe, now, your son, who stands in yonder doorway: if I hit him right in the heart, it will be manifest that they wrong my understanding, and are insolent babblers; but, if I miss, give credit to what they say, and consider me a fool!"

And instantly seizing his bow, he drew it, and buried his shaft in the youth's breast. Then, causing the body to be opened, he inspected the wound, and finding that the arrow had actually pierced the heart, he turned with much glee to the father, and said, "You see clearly, Prexaspes, from what has happened, that I am not so deficient in judgment as the Persians absurdly pretend; for, could any man have shot truer?" Having been schooled in the discipline of tyranny, the father, instead of giving mankind the example of another Tell, sought, by cowardly flattery, to soothe the infuriated despot:—"The god himself," answered he, "could not have taken a better aim."<sup>(7)</sup>

Injuries of such a nature are not, however, forgotten. To enable him to fill up the measure of his crimes, Prexaspes, at his bidding, undertook the murder of his brother Smerdis;<sup>(8)</sup> and, shortly after his return from this fratricidal mission, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the tyrant gored on

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<sup>7</sup> Herodot. iii. 34, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. iii. 63.

his own weapon,—perhaps contrived the accident, —and put to sleep in that marble cloak with which Hector, in the *Iliad*, menaces the princely Paris.

Another example of the blinding influence of education in monarchical states occurs in the history of that period. The Median king, having dreamed a dream which menaced him with the loss of his kingdom through the instrumentality of his daughter's son, immediately caused the infant to be exposed to perish on a mountain. A shepherd, who fed his flocks near the spot, picked up the foundling, and carrying it to his cot, where his own wife had recently become a mother, the woman, suspecting the rank of the boy, and influenced by that contemptible prejudice in favour of royalty which sways the minds of the vulgar, resolved to sacrifice her own infant to preserve the imperial whelp, which, if unable to preserve both, she should rather have abandoned to the tender mercies of his own kindred. (<sup>9</sup>)

Even so far back as the heroic ages, more attention was paid among nations of Hellenic blood, to the cultivation of the intellect. The mind and heart were stored and softened by poetry and music. Lays, commemorating the warlike achievements of their forefathers, chaunted by inspired bards throughout the land, kindled the flame of patriotism ; and dealing, with equal hand, praise and censure according to desert, gave birth to those magnanimous sentiments, which afterwards ripened into

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<sup>9</sup> Justin, i. 4.

actions so glorious. Nature, of course, more or less preserves its sway in all ages. But in those described by Homer it was comparatively little interfered with by custom. Women of the highest rank suckled and nursed their own children, and were careful not to delegate to menials the task of presiding over the earliest intercourse of their minds with external nature and society. Fathers, too, however exalted their condition, reckoned it among their duties to direct the education of their sons, though, in some instances, they admitted a wise or skilful friend to share in the pleasing labour. We are, no doubt, accustomed to consider as extremely rude the practices of those primitive times; yet our feelings by no means refuse to be interested in the picture of them, or check the unsophisticated delight which bubbles up in the heart when we find the first of poets pausing in the midst of blood and slaughter to describe a father feeding his beloved son upon his knee. <sup>(10)</sup> Similar traits of manners occur again and again. Euryclea is represented, in the *Odyssey*, placing the young Ulysses on his grandfather's knees, after supper. And to this practice Phœnix alludes where, relating the quarrel with his father, he says the old man loaded him with curses, and hoped he might never place a son of his upon his lap. <sup>(11)</sup> What kinds of knowledge they were instructed in, as they grew older, we learn from the same poem, where we find the principal personages conversant with the sciences

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(<sup>o</sup>) *Iliad*, xxii. 500, sqq.

(<sup>11</sup>) *Ibid*, ix. 455, sqq.

of politics and war, skilled in oratory, acquainted with the legendary history of their country, possessing some insight into medicine, poetry, music, and already evincing that characteristic passion of their countrymen, a love for the fine arts.

Our knowledge, however, of those remote times, is too imperfect to allow of our developing the plans then pursued in education; and the same thing may be said of many ages following. Even of the pædagogic institutions of Crete, the political mother of Sparta, little is with certainty known, except that the early training of boys was much neglected, at least by the state, the superintendence of their minds and morals being abandoned to their parents. But on entering, at the age of seventeen, the class of youth, they came within the active influence of Minos's laws, and in their studies and exercises resembled the youth of other nations of Doric race, where philosophy undertook to adapt the system of education to the form of government. Modern writers, swayed by the peculiar prejudices of their own times, almost invariably misrepresent the views of the ancients upon this subject, though it be most important to comprehend them there, where, if ever, they were far more scientific and philosophical than ourselves. This must be my excuse if I appear more desirous, than, at first sight, may seem necessary, to develop the system of mental culture prevalent in the free states of antiquity. The charge of pedantry will not alarm me. My only object is to be useful; to collect, or open up the road to information, commonly

neglected because it lies within everybody's reach ; and I have the satisfaction, everywhere in this track, to discover traces of the Baron von Altenstein, the man who, in modern times, is said to have legislated most wisely on education.

As the free governments of antiquity were highly artificial, it was to be expected that their systems of education would likewise be so; and this feature, as a very learned writer has remarked, is particularly observable in the great number of classes into which both boys and youth were distributed. <sup>(12)</sup> Up to the age of seven years, the state, in Laconia, took no cognizance of the existence of boys, whose infant education remained, therefore, in the hands of the parents; but, at the period above mentioned, their public training commenced; and from this severe discipline none were exempt, excepting the immediate heir to the throne, who, of all men, however, stood most need of it. <sup>(13)</sup> In Persia, the boy, as we have seen, emerged from his own class into that of youth, about the age of sixteen; but among the Spartans, where both mind and body were less precocious, he was not admitted among the epheboi before the expiration of his eighteenth year.

The Spartan system of education was indisputably the result of intellectual combinations innumerable, and in its development exercised an influence singularly powerful; <sup>(14)</sup> but its pervading spirit,

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<sup>(12)</sup> Müller, *History and Antiquities of the Dorians*, ii. 313.

<sup>(13)</sup> Plutarch. in *Vitâ Agesilai*, c. 1.

<sup>(14)</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* viii. 1.

which Müller appears desirous to conceal from himself, was nigh akin to that of the savage, and, indeed, many of its positive regulations are still found in operation among the islanders of Formosa. To create a nation of warriors was clearly the object of the legislator; and he conceived that his design must be advanced by whatever could communicate additional force to body or mind. Hence the unremitting application to gymnastics, and, in their ordinary sports, to everything capable of diminishing the aversion to pain, or of extirpating all sympathy for those who might shrink from, or succumb to it. Accordingly, one of their favourite amusements, during the ephebic period, was the kicking of football, which, as it is still in some parts of Wales, was carried on with a fierce emulation, more suited to a battle-field than to a place of amusement. Another of these sports, enjoined, too, by the laws, consisted in hunting down the helots, or agricultural peasants, who were annually exposed, in their peaceful villages, to the incursions of these young military aristocrats, that, falling on them unawares, generally in the dead of night, cut off the most robust of the men, lest their hardihood and increasing numbers should embolden them to shake off the yoke of their gentle landlords.

Boys, among the Dorians of Crete, were said, like the Arabs before the time of Mohammed, to dwell in darkness, so long as they remained in their father's house. And, indeed, there was some truth in the saying. For, during this period, they

might, like the wife of parson Trulliber, stand behind their lord's chair, or squat in groups upon the ground in the public dining-halls, but enjoyed not the privilege of eating with their sires, or joining in the conversation. From this state of humiliating inferiority they were partly emancipated at the age of seventeen, upon being enrolled in the *agelæ*, or class of youth, to which they belonged till marriage. But the yoke of aristocracy always weighed upon their necks. Murmur they might, and whisper that virtue and genius should be permitted their natural influence; their murmurs and whispers were useless; the landed gentry not only usurped the right of being regarded the legitimate "superiors" of the less opulent, of leading their armies in war, their games and pastimes in peace, but also constituted themselves their hereditary legislators, and inflicted punishment upon them at their discretion.

It was in those branches of education which regard the health, strength, and beauty of the body, that the ancients chiefly displayed their superiority over the moderns. In this department, indeed, their institutions appear to have approached perfection. Philosophy was constantly employed in inventing or improving means for developing the physical structure, which, it was clearly understood, must powerfully influence the operations of the intellect, and even the moral character; since there are many virtues that can hardly exist, or, at least, exert their proper sway, in a constitution enfeebled by indolence, effeminacy, or the neglect of gymnastics.

This science, which is little practised or understood in modern states, comprehended dietetics, and some knowledge of medicine. Indeed, an able master of exercises, as may be learned from Plato, almost approached the dignity of a philosopher; for besides instructing youth in the mysteries of a graceful carriage, so much insisted on by Locke and Chesterfield, he was expected to watch, while in the gymnasia, over their morals, to superintend and regulate their friendships, and to take care that, in their general behaviour, nothing illiberal or unbecoming a gentleman, was discoverable.

To Crete and Sparta, Greece was indebted for this great instrument of physical education; and, in whatever light it may be viewed, it will undoubtedly appear to have been one principal means of establishing and securing the freedom she so long enjoyed. It was distinctly perceived that, whatever care is bestowed on the cultivation of the mind, or moral character, little will have been done towards ensuring the happiness and independence of individual or state, unless the body be trained to agility, to vigour, to endurance of heat and cold;—in one word, be an instrument adapted and prepared to execute the deliberate commands of the understanding.

But, if credit be due to the Dorians for the invention of gymnastics, it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that their partiality for the discovery they had made carried them much too far. They seemed only to exist in order to take exercise. For ever engaged in the palæstra, or

in the chase, or in the military operations to which those were merely preludes, they forgot that not war, or exercise, is the object of life, but the enjoyment of leisure in health and peace, a happiness which those men cannot taste whose minds have not, by early study, been furnished with knowledge, and the tastes and habits which render it delightful. The Cretans, however, and their alumni the Spartans, bestowing a disproportionate attention on gymnastics, became more distinguished for thews than for intellect; while the Athenians, and other nations of Ionic race, cultivating the body only as the instrument of the mind, soared far above them in genius and virtue, and, perhaps, raised human nature as near as it can be carried to perfection. Müller, indeed, takes a wholly different view of the subject, contending that it was only towards their decline, in the old age, so to say, of their institutions, that this excessive study of gymnastics prevailed; but both Plato and Aristotle, who may be supposed to have comprehended the true state of the case, came to a wholly different conclusion, and their views are perfectly in harmony with all the fragments of Grecian literature and art which have been transmitted down to us. In fact, constant labour, or continual violent exercise, not only superinduces an obtuseness of intellect, but, in addition to this, an inhuman and ferocious temper, as the character of the Turkoman and Tartar tribes, of the wild hunters of North America, and of the lowest peasantry

in several European countries, makes abundantly manifest.

I am far from supposing that a good education necessarily includes the arts of reading and writing, since there is no knowledge which may not be orally transmitted; but a proficiency in those acquirements must undoubtedly facilitate the development of the faculties. But in Lacedæmon neither the one nor the other was common; and though the deficiency was sought to be supplied by a sedulous cultivation of the judgment and memory, and the constant study of those laws and poems in which all the wisdom and philosophy of the nation were included, the Spartan mind, up to the latest period of Grecian history, exhibited a poverty and narrowness of conception, a boorish insensibility to the nobler inspirations of art, an inaptitude to move with the times, in one word, a propensity to hallow and preserve ancient abuses, which, in spite of the institutions of Lycurgus, made them at length a prey to their more enlightened and progressing neighbours. <sup>(15)</sup>

Though little, however, was done to inform the understandings of the Spartans,—who, covertly, are satirized by Socrates, in the Greater Hippias, for their fondness for old wives' tales,—some at-

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<sup>(15)</sup> Aristotle, *Polit.* vii. 14. The philosopher speaks contemptuously of Thibro, and other writers, who, it seems had eulogised Lycurgus and his military institutions with extraordinary want of judgment; but his sarcasm was not sufficient to deter M. Müller from treading in the footsteps of Thibro.

tempts were made, by the regulation of the national music, to enlist their sensibilities on the side of virtue. But on this subject our notions are extremely imperfect. We are unable clearly to comprehend how innovation in the stringing of a lyre, or the introduction of this or that foreign air could have threatened the overthrow of the government. In fact, by *music* we must understand something more than the mere science of modulated sounds; it being used by metalepsis, for *literature*, as the *lyre* was for *poetry*.

But, even in its restricted modern sense, music constituted, among the ancients, an important branch of education. It entered largely into their amusements, it was indispensable to the proper celebration of public worship, it soothed them in peace, it roused their courage, and nerved their arm in war. During many festivals of their religion it was no uncommon thing to see a whole people, young and old, of both sexes, unite in chaunting the praises of the gods; and it has not without reason been thought that this circumstance, of women's joining in the solemnization of such rites, tended greatly to keep up among the Dorians a partiality almost amounting to passion for music. Dancing, also, among this division of the Greek race, was a part of education most carefully cultivated. Commonly, however, their dances were either of a religious or military character; though, as among the modern nations of the East, there were others not a few designed to express, or rather,

perhaps, to represent, the development of the passions, as the *Bibasis*, the *Kōrdax*, &c.

It may, to sum up the whole, be remarked, that the educational institutions of Sparta differed very materially from those elsewhere prevailing in Greece. For, in other Hellenic states, parents designing to bestow the best possible education on their children, placed over them, at an early age, suitable instructors, and successively, as they advanced in years, had recourse to masters of various kinds. "They also," says Xenophon, quite in the spirit of Locke, "indulged them in the luxury of shoes, and enervated their bodies by warm and effeminate raiment; and, in eating, permitted their own undisciplined appetite to be the measure of their gratifications." But Lycurgus, who, among the aristocratic laconizers at Athens, was regarded as the bean ideal of a legislator, instead of subjecting the youth to be governed by servile pædagogues, placed them, continues the philosopher, under the superintendence of the Pædanomos, a principal magistrate, whom he armed with despotic authority to call together the classes at his pleasure, and repress with punishment the slightest tendency towards effeminacy; for which purpose he was constantly accompanied by attendants bearing whips, that chastisement might immediately follow at the heels of detection.

A totally different spirit pervaded the Athenian system of education. In that great democracy the object was not to train up a number of slaves to

obedience, or to create a horde of military ascetics; but, by the most consummate discipline, to produce a body of citizens capable of exercising by vicarious succession the various acts of power and sovereignty which, in such a government, necessarily devolved upon them. Consequently, the science of gymnastics, though most accurately understood, was not here elevated to undue importance. Being merely designed to enable the body effectively and with facility to perform the injunctions of the mind, it never usurped the place of intellectual cultivation, but remained, as it should, subordinate to the nobler studies of rhetoric, politics, and philosophy. The state, however, was averse to minute legislation on the subject. It, indeed, required that every citizen should be possessed of certain acquirements, but left the mode of acquisition, as in every free state it must be left, to the views and means of the individual. There was no necessity, and in a republic there never can be, to rouse the minds of the citizens into a healthful activity. This was done by the very nature of the government, by the habitual discussions it forced upon the public mind, by the great rewards it held out to persevering and honourable exertion; so that it was rather found requisite to moderate the thirst for honours, and the knowledge that led to them, than by artificial excitement to awaken and urge it forward. For, when men see their own welfare indissolubly bound up with that of the state, when they perceive its machinery at work around them, and feel that, by their individual exertions, they may retard or accelerate its move-

ments, and thus acquire distinction, fame, and power, it requires no compulsion to place them in the track of improvement. All but the most torpid will experience the vivifying influence of honest ambition, will desire not to be last in serving their country, either by filling themselves offices of trust, or by facilitating the aims of others more competent to fill them.

Hence, in the development of the intellectual faculties, the mode may generally, in a free state, be with safety left to individual enterprise. The case of the peasantry, in aristocratical governments, is different. Here, for the preservation of public tranquillity, and the hereditary rule of privileged classes, some uniform system of training, under the influence of the clergy, may be found necessary, that the poor may be taught contentedly to endure their burdens, to look up with fear and trembling at their masters, and abandon "*ogni speranza*" of exercising the slightest influence in public affairs; for ambition in the minds of serfs, incapable even of voting at an election, could only tend, under such governments, to create whole armies of dangerous malcontents.

But at Athens, where, the machinery of government being exceedingly complicated, its proper working required the co-operation of a very large proportion of the citizens, education, of necessity, was very widely diffused, and embraced all the higher departments of knowledge. It commenced at the age of seven, two years later than in modern Prussia, and, unless when war early

called the youth abroad, was probably continued till thirty, the age at which men entered the senate. After learning to read and to swim, qualifications rendered imperative by the laws of Solon on every Athenian, the first step of a good education consisted in committing to memory select passages from the poets, the earliest, the most pleasing, and, perhaps, the best teachers of mankind.

Aristophanes, in his play of most evil fame, "The Clouds," has traced an agreeable, and by no means exaggerated picture, of the primitive training, when justice constituted the chief object of instruction, and modesty pervaded the national manners. The first thing inculcated was the good government of the tongue. The boys were not suffered to lounge about the streets, on the way to school; but collected into large bodies, like the children of our boarding-schools, were marched in close ranks to the dwellings of their instructors, clad, like the youthful Spartans, in a single garment,<sup>(16)</sup> even in winter, when the snow fell about them like flour. When arrived under the master's eye, they chaunted some patriotic hymn, in the manner taught them by their forefathers; and no crowding, no scurril jests, no effeminate foreign airs, or affected refinement could escape detection and chastisement. Extreme care was taken also in the palæstra to guard against every thing indecorous; and,

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(16) Aristophanes has *γυμνόντες*, but means no more, as Hermann has observed, than that they went "in their shirts," *χιτωνίσκοις*; which may still be said of the Arab and Nubian boys. (*Aristoph. Bekk.* iii. 406.)

in their food, against whatever was noxious or stimulating. (27)

I have seen the high enthusiasm and imaginativeness of the Athenian character traced, with reprehension, to the influence of poetry over their education. But the objection can scarcely be urged seriously by any one possessing a spark of philosophy. For without those qualities, the virtues, when they exist at all, must be stunted and pigmy-like, adapted rather to the cloister and hermit's cell, than for those scenes of bustle and contention in which the citizens of a free state must pass their lives. But, whether or not this be so, it is absurd to attribute to books or teachers qualities inherent in the physical temperament; though, possessing these, the Athenian youth doubtless imbibed from the poets principles whereby to guide their loftier aspirations, and nobler views of the nature and destiny of man, than could, from any other source, have been derived; virtue, as it was understood in antiquity, being invested in their works with irresistible loveliness, and recommended to the heart by every allurements of style and imagery, by every ennobling association with home, by whatever could kindle confidence in Providence, or the hope of obtaining its protection either here or hereafter.

Many fables, indeed, and much unspiritual superstition, were mixed up with these purer influences; for which reason Plato, I think unphilo-

sophically,<sup>(18)</sup> inveighs, in his Republic and elsewhere, against Homer, who does not set himself up as a teacher in all things; though he would not, perhaps, be far wrong who should, with Horace, consider him still more excellent, as a moral preceptor, than any philosopher whatever. For, strangely, indeed, must that mind be constituted, and most unhappy must be its propensities, that can travel without profit through the Iliad and Odyssey—that can remain, after such a lesson, blind to the unspeakable advantages of religion, of patriotism, of every other virtue, political and civil. For, in what merely human production,—if such productions can ever be so considered,—is the dependence of man upon Heaven more forcibly inculcated? Where, out of the Holy Scriptures, do we find stronger arguments for the necessity and efficacy of prayer, of charity, of hospitality, of compassion for the poor and needy, and those who have none to help them? In fact, the spirit of Homer is at once so kindly, so sympathizing with misfortune, so redolent of magnanimity, of beneficence, of love, that he sometimes almost seems to have imbibed his feelings from Him, who, on the Mount, “spake as never man spake;” and to have been commissioned, from on high, to begin those preindications of Christianity, which, here and there upon the earth, appeared successively ere

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(18) St. Augustin, too, with more zeal than discretion, animadverts upon the few objectionable fables to be found in Homer, of whom, however, since he terms him “dulcissimè vanus,” it is clear he was very fond.—*Confessionum*, i. 14, 16.

the fulness of time, like those faint forerunners of the dawn which gradually kindle up the east, till the rising sun converts the whole firmament into one blaze of glory.

From this man's works principally, as from their Bible,—which, in default of the better it well deserved to be,—did all nations of Hellenic race, but more especially the Athenians, derive in youth their principles of faith and morals; and hence, perhaps, the superior beauty of their political ethics.<sup>(19)</sup> For, though he was called in to preside over their early studies, his maxims were never, in after life, permitted to escape from their consideration. Many young men committed to memory large portions, some the whole, of his poems; and before copies of them were sufficiently multiplied to allow of their getting into every body's hands, rhapsodists were maintained at the public expense to recite, during the great quinquennial festival of Minerva, the whole of his works, the second commencing where the first made a pause, and so on.

Afterwards, when moral treatises, from the pens of philosophers, were so common as to be generally accessible, reading was called in to the aid of recitation and oral instruction. In fact, we find Socrates himself, instead of confining his lessons to the familiar dialectics of conversation, which is all the common notion of his system of teaching embraces,—reading philosophy with his pupils,

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(<sup>19</sup>) See Isocrat. Areop. §. 12.

and making excerpta of such passages as afforded maxims of wisdom or food for reflection; which was simply a following out of the manner of teaching adopted in the popular schools, where children were taught to read and commit to memory passages from the poets containing good moral precepts, instructive anecdotes, or the praises and noble actions of great men of past times, that by dwelling on these details, they might be excited to emulate what was praiseworthy.

Nor in the Attic system of education was music of less avail than among the Dorians. The Kitharistes, or music-master, was careful to adapt his art to the service of virtue, watching more anxiously over the conduct than over the accomplishments of his pupils. And when they had made some proficiency in the Kithara, the noblest songs of the lyric poets were placed in their hands, that amid the mingled inspiration of music and verse, their sympathies might be irresistibly directed towards whatever was good and beautiful. Rhythm and harmony, to adopt the language of the great Abderite sophist, were thus in some measure compelled to inhabit the souls of youth, and, by their influence, to render them milder, more modest, and of better constituted minds, while all their abilities both to speak and to act were called into life.<sup>(20)</sup>

The Athenian youth enjoyed the advantages to be derived from every kind of master. In addition

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(<sup>20</sup>) Platonis Protagor. Oper. i. 130. 131, Bekk.

to the branches of knowledge elsewhere taught, they were carefully instructed in horsemanship and fencing; and, universally to diffuse and maintain the national predilection for the fine arts, drawing always formed a part of their accomplishments. On the multiplicity of their studies a curious passage occurs in Æschines Socraticus, who observes that, when the child was seven years old, numerous labours were imposed on him, under the despotic sway of health-guardians and masters of exercises; while, as his years increased, he successively passed under the jurisdiction of critics, geometricians, tacticians, and a host of other masters. But when he was registered among the youth, studies still severer awaited him in the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges, where every transgression was punished with stripes. His rights, however, were no less sedulously watched over than his conduct, by the ten inspectors of youth, one from every tribe, who were chosen annually by the people at large, and received a regular salary from the state.<sup>(21)</sup>

From the Athenians, the people of Rome borrowed much of their civilization, since it was from them that they derived even the laws by which their state was governed. It is not, therefore, surprising that when, in the latter ages of the commonwealth, they applied themselves to literature and philoso-

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(21) Etymol. Magn. and an ancient grammarian in Bekker, i. 301. These inspectors were sometimes called *sophronistæ*, sometimes *kosmetæ*.—(Meurs. *Lect. Att.* ii. 5.—Bæckh. *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, i. 319.)

phy, Athens became the great university of the Romans, and infused into her fierce alumni whatever elegance or humanity they possessed. Up to this period, their education had been conducted in an almost exclusively military spirit. Their institutions, indeed, were less artificial than those of Lycurgus; they were likewise more consistent with views of material and palpable utility, their pursuits, even in the instance of the highest patricians, being connected with agriculture and rural economy in general; but the energies of the nation not having been directed by mental training towards the ennobling delights of literature and science, they were incapable of enjoying leisure, and took refuge from ennui in the excitements of war, which, if every other way inferior, are no doubt, as General Foy contends, equal in intensity to those afforded by the exercise of the plastic and mimetic arts.

Whatever men exclusively pursue they necessarily excel in; and, accordingly, the Romans cultivating with undividing attention the science of strategy in all its branches, together with the loftier science of politics, were in the end enabled to triumph over the whole civilized world, and establish the most powerful empire recorded in history. In other arts and pursuits they were willing, as Virgil in his well-known passage admits, to relinquish the palm of excellence to others:

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra:  
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:  
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus*

Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.  
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,  
 (Hæ tibi crunt artos) pacisque imporenere morem.  
 Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos. (<sup>22</sup>)

In fact, a series of wars and conquests, carried on through many ages, deferred to a very late period of the republic, all earnest application to the higher studies; and the taste for them, when at length introduced, came too late to be effectually engrafted upon the national character. They had, as a nation, outlived their youth, and hence they never became a poetical, a philosophical, or a learned people. Not having been the object of their early affections, literature was never married to their hearts. Some necessity for it was, indeed, felt; and they accordingly applied themselves to it, as the Turks, in our days, do to politics, in self-defence. But their nobler energies had been otherwise exhausted. No wide-spread enthusiasm was kindled. No passion for the beautiful was called into activity. They saw what was good, and took much pains to possess it; but were urged forward by their reason, not precipitated along by the impetuosity of passion. The ideal, the soul of art, the parent of whatever is great or excellent in literature or in morals, found but a cold dwelling-place in their breasts; and we therefore vainly seek, in their greatest writers, for that ingenuous simplicity,

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(<sup>22</sup>) *Æneid.* vi. 848—854. The note of Servius is curious: “Per æs, Corinthios indicat; per marmor, Parios; per actionem causarum, Athenienses; per astronomiam, *Ægyptios et Chaldaeos.*” (*Virg. Musvic.* ii. 797.)

that naïve homeliness, that downy youthful cheek, and perfumed breath, which constitute the greatest charm of the Greek muse. Cicero, Virgil, and Sallust sought to console themselves with national pride for the absence of this well-spring of immortality ; but in their haughty affectation we discover their despair, which, in the more ingenuous Horace, finds vent in words.

The Abbé Fleury, in his clever work, “*du Choix et de la Méthode des Etudes*,” observes with truth that the Romans were the first people who introduced into education the study of a foreign language. For the Greeks, having been themselves the inventors of all the more important sciences ; or, at least, of all systematic investigation of the theories of ethics and politics, together with the plastic and mimetic arts, properly so called, instead of devoting their youth to mastering the tongues and historic records of other nations and ages, generally confined their studies within the circle of the Hellenic language and experience. <sup>(23)</sup> The position of the Romans was different. Observing that, in eloquence, in poetry, in philosophy, the Greeks had attained a degree of perfection exceeding what it had entered any of their countrymen’s minds to conceive, they felt that, to obtain any thing like a liberal education, they must acquire the language in which thought had most com-

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<sup>(23)</sup> Afterwards, however, when Greece became a province of the Roman empire, the youth were very commonly instructed in Latin. *Confess. Div. August* i. 14.

pletely developed itself. And not merely so. Greek was also the language of commerce and diplomacy throughout the Levant; and ambassadors, men of business, and whoever sought to carry his experience beyond his own threshold, soon found the necessity of possessing this universal instrument of communication, insomuch that to be ignorant of it was, in Rome, not to be a gentleman.

The facilities, moreover, of acquiring Greek were numerous. Athens, the great instructress of mankind, still spoke her own pure language; and there were many colonies from Hellas established in Magna Græcia, where the mother dialect was preserved in more or less perfection. War, also, and the intestine troubles of their country, had driven multitudes of Grecian adventurers from their homes; and these undertook, in various ways, to deliver from barbarism and ignorance the devastators of their native land, and to reveal to them an inner life, and sources of pleasure, which, hitherto, they wot not of.

The grammatical studies of the Romans were consequently confined, at first, to the Greek language, as, in modern nations, they were for many ages to the Latin; but perceiving, at length, the capabilities of their own masculine tongue, they diligently applied themselves to the improvement of it, and succeeded with very inflexible materials, in forming a dialect singularly well adapted to the expression of energetic and impetuous thoughts.

At the period, however, wherein the Romans

commenced their studies, those of the Greeks had undergone important changes. The poets, with their moral fables, traditionary legends, and religious sanctions of virtue, no longer possessed any very active influence, the scepticism of the natural philosophers having destroyed that ingenuous credulity on which the mythi had based their authority. And this circumstance will, in great part, account for the unspiritual form assumed from the commencement by Roman literature, one of the greatest ornaments of which employed his genius in recommending the dullest species of atheism; while, in Greece, the philosophical poets of the first ages, singing,

“ how heaven and earth,  
In the beginning, rose out of chaos,”

had, in spite of scattered seeds of pantheism, cherished a feeling profoundly religious. Scepticism, however, which is an inert principle, may be considered merely as an incapacity to seize vigorously upon truth, or enthusiastically to pursue it through the various mazes of philosophy; and those tainted by it, are consequently, of all men, the most unapt for the successful exertion of creative energy.

But, nevertheless, history, and the moral beauty of the Socratic philosophy, were not without charms for the robust minds of the Romans; and though the inward spirit of poetry was an essence too delicate and subtle to produce any sensible effect upon them, they could still appreciate its exquisite pictures of human life, its fine moral precepts, and brilliant imagery. It therefore be-

came customary, at Rome, as previously in Greece, to read, recite, and chaunt the works of the best poets, which, having survived so many ages, now began to be respected for their antiquity, and the historical and religious traditions they contained.

A new spirit was introduced when Rome became a prey to the Cæsars; for, from that moment, the genuine spirit of antiquity,—the principle of self-government,—ceased to exist. Greece itself was now a wreck, a shadow; and though the youth of Rome still frequented the site of what had once been Athens, with the view of acquiring some tincture of her learning, that they might, by prostituting it, advance themselves in the court of a tyrant, the result was generally answerable to the motive. In the place where the greatest men known to history once instructed their rising fellow-citizens in the doctrines of philosophy, they found a herd of vain sophists, teaching for hire the art of wrangling; gluttonous, irreligious, unprincipled pettifoggers, who subsisted by frequenting rich men's feasts, where, as we find them painted to the life in the "*Deipnosophistæ*," they ostentatiously displayed their abilities to do everything, but revive the liberties of their country. It was, in short, time that paganism, worn out, or utterly inefficient for all moral purposes, should yield up the place of guide and instructor of mankind, to that pure and perfect system which, about this time, the mercy of God revealed to the world.

Education, it might have been hoped, should now have assumed a form approaching the ideal.

The spirit of Christianity, developing itself in the unfolding of the young mind, should have given a seraph's wings to the soul, wherewith to soar high above whatever was base and dishonourable. A perfect example had been exhibited. Celestial virtue had been clothed in human shape. A brand of love, kindled in the highest heavens, redolent of the ineffable purity of God, had been placed in the hands of man, to light him upward. In one word, Christ had lived, and suffered; and, with him, all that was earthly in human nature had perished, consumed in the crucible of divine love, mortality had put on immortality, and the golden links of that eternal chain which connects man with his Creator, faith had discovered ascending through the clouds to heaven.

But the mental culture of the early Christians displayed but little of the spirit of their religion. Designed to introduce the most complete distinction between themselves and the pagans, it was much too narrow and illiberal. They sought to confine, as much as possible, the reading of their children to the Holy Scriptures, rejecting all other studies as useless and pernicious; and though, by this means, they succeeded, indeed, in generating among themselves a distinctive character, and manners unlike those of their neighbours, innumerable prejudices were, at the same time, engendered, which, if they did not, upon the whole, impede the progress of Christianity, undoubtedly impaired its purity, and upon the more learned and enlightened

ages that succeeded, imposed the laborious task of weeding out the heresies and errors then sown.

The excellent Fleury, however, in many respects so entirely liberal, imagines the practice of those times an emanation, in some sort, from the spirit of Christianity; and carefully, therefore, abstains from condemning it. On the contrary, their fanaticism seems, for the moment, praiseworthy in his eyes. He enters earnestly into their peculiar feelings, and, in a style rich with the odour of Platonism, thunders an anathema against all heathen lore. He relates with evident commendation their neglect of what were then denominated foreign or exterior studies, which in fact, constituted, he says, a portion of the manners of Paganism; and were, for the most part, useless or dangerous. For, the poets were nothing less than "the devil's prophets," breathing of little but idolatry and incontinence, and, by their fascinating pictures, softening down our indignation against those impetuous passions which terminate in crime.

Philosophy they despised, because many among its teachers denied the truth of religion, contending against the possibility of miracles and prophecies; while others, more superstitious, or aiming more at popularity, sought to support the cause of idolatry by fine-spun physical allegories, or the secrets of magic. Their morality, too, was rejected as erroneous, because based on this proud principle, that man is of himself able to be virtuous. The orators of the pagan world appeared

in their eyes, to abound with little else than artifice, falsehood, contumely, or flattery; and had it even been otherwise, what was the subject of their most serious discourses but the management of public business, a thing from which the early Christians anxiously sought to escape? They would, in fact, have regarded as entirely lost the time given them to secure the interests of eternity, had they employed it in reading secular histories, in the study of mathematics, astronomy, or other sciences, then considered more curious than useful. Even in the most innocent mental pursuits they discovered the snares of vanity.

The majority therefore of Christians, in those ages, devoted themselves to manual labours, or works of charity. Such schools as existed were kept in the churches, where the bishops, not yet too wealthy or proud to be useful, explained the Scriptures. There were also many priests and deacons engaged in instructing catechumens, or in disputing against the heathen; but the condition of the clergy was then far from being an enviable one, as their bishops not only employed them as readers and secretaries, but sometimes also in the almost menial capacity of attendants and letter-carriers. Little time, therefore, was left for genuine study; and it has been well observed that of those few Christian writers who understood anything of philosophy, the greater number had become acquainted with it before their conversion.

In reality, education was exceedingly neglected in the first ages of Christianity, and this neglect

was the parent of that night of profound ignorance which overspread the whole of Europe during the middle ages. Little or nothing was studied but the doctrines of a thorny and obscure theology, or the rules and practices of monastic orders, based on the most grovelling fanaticism, at variance with all the best interests of society, and necessarily generative of that uncheerful gloom which particularly distinguishes the modern from the ancient world. For, instead of seeking to ripen and bring to perfection the powers of mind or body, instead of labouring to reduce man's passions and affections under the control of reason, to teach the true end of life, or the proper mode of using the blessings with which it abounds, those sombre bigots ungratefully rejected the gifts of God, shutting themselves up from the light of heaven in cells and dungeons, refusing all nourishing or wholesome food, and betaking themselves, in some instances, to grazing among the beasts of the field. When their imaginations took any bent towards literature, they preserved the same perverse characteristics. For being ignorant of all wholesome truth, they spun the most absurd and monstrous theories, and, instead of enlightening, only embarrassed and puzzled a world unhappily reduced to the necessity of receiving what was termed instruction from teachers so utterly irrational.

Some insight into the process by which this state of things was brought about, we obtain through that most curious and instructive work, which St. Augustin has entitled his "Confessions." The

picture,—too brief, indeed,—of school-boy life and studies in those extraordinary times, is drawn with much liveliness and vigour of fancy. He takes himself up from the cradle, and, working his way upward to man's estate, sketching as he goes along his studies and his companions, his minute ingenuousness, had not fanaticism interfered, would probably have rivalled that of Rousseau. In the train of the true religion, as we learn from innumerable authorities, errors of the worst kind had crept into the world ; among others those of the Manichæans, in which, during the early part of his life, St. Augustin himself was steeped to the ears ; and to inculcate the principles of orthodoxy, and a hatred of heretical creeds, soon, therefore, began to form a part of education. But heresies being exceedingly numerous, to become acquainted with all their peculiar dogmas was no slight labour. Indeed, a whole life might be spent, and the student still remain ignorant of much.

It is chiefly, however, in the spirit which pervades it, that one system of education differs from another ; for youths may nominally be taught the same things, in two different places, and the result be wholly dissimilar. Externally considered their studies, at the outset, differed but little from our own. They were, from infancy, taught to call upon God by prayer, "*Nam puer cœpè rogare te, auxilium et refugium meum, et in tuam invocationem rumpebam nodos linguæ meæ ;*" and to this succeeded the learning of their letters, writing, and

arithmetic, the knowledge of which seems to have been imparted in a very crabbed way. Indeed, the whole discipline of those infant schools, and much more those of boyhood, must have been severe, even to savageness; for St. Augustin still, in his old age, when length of time might be expected to have worn out the impression, looked back upon his birchen days with horror, and speaks of his preceptors in a tone of considerable resentment; observing, that they who so angrily chastised him, had themselves been guilty of the same faults. He, nevertheless, acknowledges that his partiality for the fives-court impeded his progress in knowledge; and that, in short, he should have learned nothing had he not been forced into it.<sup>(24)</sup>

Greek, the value of which had again began to be felt, was taught children at a very early age; but the mode of teaching appears to have been ill calculated to recommend the language, for Augustin complains that he hated it. But it may be inferred, from his account, that the *Æneid* was then a favourite book with boys; for he represents himself shedding delicious tears over the fate of Dido, and altogether as much interested in the story as a modern boy with a novel; partly, perhaps, because it was read by stealth. Arithmetic he hated also, and confesses that, while he should have been learning how two and two make four, his mind was wandering to the story of the Trojan horse.

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(<sup>24</sup>) Confess. Div. August. i. 12.

Homer, however, though “sweetly full of vanities,” as he terms it, obtained no share of his partiality; no doubt because his “vanities” were shrouded beneath the difficulties of a foreign language, which the youthful saint found his patience unequal to contend with: and he is convinced that Greek lads<sup>(25)</sup> must have felt an equal aversion for Virgil. With a naïveté worthy of Montaigne he contrasts the manner in which a child acquires its own language, with the bitter discipline by which they are usually indoctrinated in foreign tongues. “The Latin,” says he, “was equally, in the days of my infancy, unknown to me; and yet, without fear or torture, I gradually acquired it, surrounded by the blandishments of nurses, the smiles of those who loved me, and the sports of my playfellows.”<sup>(26)</sup>

From the same testimony we learn that the Christians had at length returned to the old Greek practice of causing their children to commit to memory speeches, or passages from the poets; or, which was equally useful, to clothe the poet’s thoughts in prose of their own. To drill them into a correct pronunciation would appear to have been equally necessary; for already, at least in Africa, a sort of cockney clipping of the aspirates

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(<sup>25</sup>) *Difficultas omnino ediscendæ peregrinæ linguæ, quasi felle aspergebat omnes suavitates Græcæ fabulosarum narrationum.*—(Confess i. 14.)

(<sup>26</sup>) And he adds, in the true spirit of Locke: “*Hinc satis elucet majorem habere vim ad discenda ista liberam curiositatem, quàm meticulosam necessitatem.*”—(Conf. i. 14.)

had commenced, it being not uncommon, at Thagasta, for boys to bring the master's ferula about their ears, for metamorphosing *hominem* into *ominem*! St. Augustin is sore on this point; to which, however, the pædagogues seem to have attached too great importance, since, as he words it, they visited with more severity offences against the laws of grammar than against those of God. <sup>(27)</sup> Several circumstances concur, in fact, to prove that more stress was laid on learning than on morals. Parents often sent their children from under their own eye, to distant schools and colleges, where their progress in vice appears to have been at least commensurate with that which they made in rhetoric and general literature. Still, from the acerbity of his remarks on the theatre, we discover the ascetic turn of the public mind, and the approximation to a state of things, such as would have delighted Sir Andrew Agnew; except that, with this aversion to recreation, was united a propensity to judicial astrology, divination, magic, and a belief in the force of numbers, charms, incantations, &c. which smelled strongly, he would perhaps think, of heathenism and idolatry. <sup>(28)</sup>

But the fascination of the subject is, I see, enticing me into much greater detail than would be consistent with my present design. I must therefore, with one bound, reach the times of

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<sup>(27)</sup> Confess. Divi. Augustini. i. 19.

<sup>(28)</sup> Confession. Div. August. ii. 3, iii. 2, 4, iv. 3, 16, vii. 6, where the reader will find much instructive information respecting the private life of the early Christians.

Charlemagne, when some attempts were made to rouse mankind from the dream into which the opiate of superstition had plunged them. All the conditions required by Dr. Wiseman, and other Roman Catholics of our day, for the support of religion and learning, had long existed in the Christian world—bishops with princely revenues, nobles not inferior in wealth, and those most hopeful fosterers of philosophy, the monks—and yet learning had disappeared, and religion along with it. This, barbarian as he was, Charlemagne perceived, and desiring rather to reign over a people enlightened and civilized, than over a priest-ridden rabble, he sought to revive all liberal studies, and along with them the spirit of Christianity.

With a true insight into the character of mankind, who despise wisdom obscure and on foot, he encouraged learned men by honours and rewards; and set them a good example by applying himself also to study. He established schools in the principal cities of his empire, and,—what, no doubt, was equally necessary,—in his own palace, which was itself, a kind of ambulatory metropolis, as Fleury<sup>(29)</sup> happily expresses it. The sort of instruction afforded by these schools may be learned from several of the Capitularies, where the bishops, to whom sad necessity compelled them to confide the business of education, are enjoined to instruct children in grammar, arithmetic, and psalmody,

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(29) *Choix des Etudes*, &c. p. 26.

or, rather, church-music in general. In modern Switzerland, where, even in the Protestant Cantons, education of every kind is extremely imperfect, and, even in Prussia, where the reverse is the case, the reliques of this taste for church-singing are invested with much too great importance; but in Charlemagne it was natural enough so to do, since he contemplated nothing beyond the education of the clergy, his hacking and hewing nobility, and ground-tilling serfs being considered beyond the reach of knowledge. And in what did the erudition of the clergy themselves consist? In the knowledge of a few historical facts connected with Christianity, and bearing the impress of the credulity of the times, a few formula of divine worship, the Lord's Prayer, and two or three Latin Psalms, very often recited without being understood. This, in general, was the sum of what they knew.<sup>(30)</sup>

Politics, morals, literature, science, nay, genuine religion itself, none attempted to teach. Some care, however, was bestowed on collecting the lays of ancient German bards, at the time for mere amusement, but which have in the sequel aided philosophy, in partly uncovering the cradle-condition of that great people. Astrology, and the routine of superstition, the daily food of ignorance, were carefully transmitted from age to age by the Monks, among whom, it must be owned, there now and then arose a superior mind that, wandering to forbidden springs, imbibed some tincture of taste and

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<sup>(30)</sup> Buhle, Philosophie Scolastique du Moyen Age. i. 667.

humanity from such fragments of ancient literature as still existed in the monasteries.

By the complaisant scholars of the present age, some credit has been given to the monks for the aid they are supposed to have afforded in transmitting down to us such writings of the Greeks and Romans as we possess. It is very ill deserved. For their merit, at most, was that of the wolf which, having the crane's head in his mouth, did not snap it off. In like manner, all the gratitude we owe the monks amounts to this—that, whereas with a little more industry they might questionless have destroyed every vestige of ancient literature, as they actually did the far greater part, their laziness, or, rather, divine Providence, preserved in the dust and cobwebs of their foul dens, those sparks of celestial fire which were destined once more to kindle up the intellectual glories of the world.

The first impulse communicated to the studies of the Christians of those benighted times originated among the Arabs, Jews, and Moors of Spain.<sup>(31)</sup> The Mohammedans, at the outset ignorant and fanatical, in acquiring wealth and empire, simultaneously acquired some taste for learning; and in the groves of Bagdad and Damascus sought, not altogether in vain, to restore those liberal studies which, so many centuries before, had flourished in the more congenial atmosphere of Attica. Their suc-

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(31) Buhle, *Histoire de la Philosophie Moderne*, i. 664. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, x. 41. Fleury, *Choix des Etudes*, p. 30.

cess, however, was necessarily partial. The despotism of their government, and the intolerant spirit of their religion forbade the growth of a philosophy healthy and sound ; though such branches of literature and science as a tyrant may cultivate or patronise, received encouragement, and were not unsuccessfully cultivated under the Khalifs of the house of Abbas.

Al Mansoor, a prince still renowned in Mohammedan history, led the way by his example, applying himself diligently to the study of law and astronomy. His grandson, also, Al Mamoon, the more readily and surely to awaken the passion for letters among his subjects, collected, and caused to be translated into Arabic, the philosophical and scientific works of several Greek authors, such as Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, &c. The most profuse rewards which a monarch could bestow were everywhere, throughout the Mahommedan world, conferred on men of learning ; and, as the servants of princes usually smile or frown upon whomsoever their masters do, the sovereign's example was followed by his vizirs and emirs, so that, for a time, philosophy wore a fine turban, fed upon thrushes, and grew half beside itself amid the warm embraces of fortune.

In the midst of this heyday of literary enthusiasm, a vizir expended two hundred thousand pieces of gold in founding a college at Bagdad, which he, moreover, endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. Here, six thousand students of all ranks received instruction ; and, as in the despotic

state of modern Prussia, the needy disciples of learning were supported at the public expense, while the several professors received adequate salaries. At a later period, the great "Mosque of Flowers" at Cairo was, perhaps, still more magnificently endowed, and frequented by a greater number of pupils from every quarter of the moslem world. <sup>(32)</sup>

But the system of education that reigned paramount in all those vast establishments, appears strongly to have resembled what we still find regulating, among the Orientals, the studies of youth. Necessarily adapted to their government and faith, and influenced likewise by their national character, it was rather calculated to produce an agreeable and modest exterior, than any high degree of mental energy. Still, it cannot be denied that, through the Moors of Spain, the Arabs had the merit of inspiring the European nations of the middle ages with something like a love of learning, which, though it terminated in the scholastic philosophy, kept the mind in some degree awake, and exercised it, though in trifling pursuits, till more important studies were introduced.

In that night of ignorance the study of foreign languages had utterly failed in Europe. Even the Latin, barbarous as it had become, and easy of acquirement, was an object of no attention, though still employed as the instrument of their meagre studies. This lamentable state of things is by some

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<sup>(32)</sup> Egypt and Mahommed Ali, ii. 335, sqq.

writers indulgently imputed to the public misfortunes of the times, infested by civil wars, the ignorant ambition of princes, and the incursions of barbarous tribes ; though, under the free governments of antiquity, letters and arts flourished amidst the fiercest hostilities, simultaneously with that domestic turbulence upon which so much sophistical declamation has been thrown away.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that the circumstances of the middle ages were sufficiently pitiable. But they were the consequences, not the cause, of the total neglect of education ; for, had the ignorant clergy, and the still more ignorant nobles, assiduously cultivated the arts which lead to greatness in peace and war, their countries could never have fallen a prey to the barbarous Normans, and other similar marauders, who have left their pernicious spawn in some of the finest provinces of Europe. An enlightened and martial people would have had nothing to fear from those savage hordes, who might uselessly have spiked themselves upon the *chevaux de frise* of civilization. But the struggle was between ignorance and valour on the one hand, and ignorance and cowardice on the other. In that part of Europe which had once been civilized, instead of meditating upon the means of ameliorating the condition of man, of fencing him round with the bulwarks of science, and putting a bit in the mouth of war, that its power might be made useful, whoever applied themselves to study, exhausted their brains in paltry theological disputes, such as still fill the

heads of irreligious fanatics, who disfigure with trifling and casuistry the blessed doctrines of the Gospel.

Many circumstances at length concurred once more to rouse the dormant faculties of mankind, and turn them in the right direction. Something like a love of learning, or, rather, learning itself, had always found supporters, though few and imperfect, in the empire of the east; and, as the Turks pressed towards Constantinople, and from day to day more nearly menaced that wornout polity with destruction, numerous learned and talented Greeks fled before the approaching storm, carrying along with them civilization a second time into Latium. Their advent immediately caused a revolution in the system of education. Platonism was revived, though not in its pristine purity. A superior style of thinking, derived principally from that source, gradually began to prevail, and, ascending into the region of politics, humanized, in some degree, the counsels of princes, the last of mankind upon whom philosophy exercises any beneficial influence. In effecting this change Cosmo de' Medici was a principal instrument. He had the wisdom to perceive that no influence is so sure, no policy so effective, as that which is based on considerations of public good; and he sought to connect the power and welfare of his house with the spread of literature and philosophy. For this purpose he educated, and brought forward Marsilio Ficino, the Latin translator of Plato, afforded liberal encouragement to other

learned men, founded, for their use, the Laurentian Library, infused the literary spirit into his times, and had thus the honour of aiding to transfer the empire of the world from the sword to the pen, which henceforward forever must bear sway. This was irrevocably fixed by the invention of printing, which, by neutralizing the influence of the clergy, the coadjutors of an armed nobility, and imperceptibly sapping the foundations of despotism, has at length secured the triumph of learning, that, directing public opinion, now governs the clergy, the military, the court, and whatever else, in barbarous ages, was thought to be the depository of power.

This great democratic engine, public opinion, was, in Italy, chiefly set in motion, as I have said, by the Byzantine Greeks, who, though hot from the court of a despot, nevertheless aided in developing among the Italians the spirit of freedom, both by the works which they explained in their lectures, and the literature they brought into fashion, of which the whole tendency is republican. There existed, however, antagonist principles that prevented free institutions from taking deep root in Italy. Even the grandson of Cosmo, Lorenzo de' Medici, distinguished no less as a poet than as a statesman, threw himself into the antidemocratic party, and marred the example which Florence might otherwise have afforded to Italy. Something may, perhaps, be attributed to his education. Gentile d'Urbino, the man who directed his early studies, was bishop of Arezzo; which may, pro-

bably, account for Lorenzo's leaning towards the church, and the ecclesiastical ambition he exhibited in indecently thrusting forward his son Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., in the priestly career.

The "*Disputationes Camaldulenses*" of Landino, written about 1468, and Roscoe's "*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*" furnish a good picture of Italian educational institutions in the fifteenth century. Machiavelli, too, both in his historical and political works, draws aside the veil, and shows us what kind of men those institutions produced. And the revelation is highly instructive; for, never was more completely verified the saying, "As you sow, so shall you reap," than in that age, when the intellect being cultivated at the expense of the morals and the heart, the fruits it produced were perjury, treachery, secret assassination, tyranny in the prince, and baseness in the people. And yet with what vigour did the imagination carry on its labours in those ages! The whole mass of society seemed to be impregnated with fire, and the genius of Dante, Petrarca, Beccatelli, and Politiano, flashed forth through clouds of impure smoke, like wholesome meteors among the stinking exhalations of the Solfaterra.

But for the people, education, as yet, there was none; and it is a truth not sufficiently insisted on, that, whether "the voice of the People" be or be not "the voice of God," it is the only effectual curb upon the passions of the more powerful. Wherever the people are ignorant, the nobles are sure to be vicious. Public opinion, virtue, religion, begin

among the crowd, and work their way upward. To them was the gospel first preached, and by their hands was the saving yoke of Christianity riveted on the neck of kings. Among them Christ, here on earth, walked habitually. Few else heard his voice. He set the example of instructing the poor, of caring for men in the inverse ratio of the vain world's care, of removing the curse of the original sin from those on whom it pressed most heavily, of enlightening those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death. Thus practically he wished to teach us that all are equal in the sight of God, from whom a tattered garment conceals not the beauty of the soul.

But in Italy, during the ages of which I am speaking, Christianity exercised no influence. The bigoted considered human learning inconsistent with religion,<sup>(33)</sup> the wordling looked upon religion as inconsistent with policy. Between them truth lay unnoticed. What sort of wisdom was then in request we may learn from the "*Arcana Sapientiæ Civilis*" of Hieronymus Cardan, where the rules given would create a rogue, shrewd to take advantage of mankind, but in himself ignoble, vain, unconfiding, unspiritual, like the writer.<sup>(34)</sup>

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(<sup>33</sup>) This is complained of by Lilius Gyraldus, in his "*Historia Deorum Gentium*," Synt. i. "*Opinio invaluit, ut eorum nullus qui se mansuetoribus musis, hoc est, humanitatis studiis addixerit, habeatur verus ac sincerus Christianæ pietatis et religionis cultor.*" tom. i. p. 1.

(<sup>34</sup>) See particularly cap. 79, "*De amicorum vitiis*," p. 316, ed. Elzevir. Modern Italian writers are beginning to adopt a very different tone in morals, particularly that school to which

From that age, however, the number of those who felt the necessity of education went on increasing. A sort of instinctive conviction that knowledge is better than ignorance was abroad; and the press, enlisting itself on the right side, not merely diffused and enlightened this conviction, but made it the characteristic distinction of these latter ages. Philosophers, emboldened by the sympathies of the people, successively attacked the numerous prejudices which stood in the way of a free diffusion of knowledge; but it remained for our illustrious countryman, to whose *Treatise* these humble remarks are designed as an introduction, to legislate on a grand scale in *Pædagogics*; and his system, the result of long and ardent study, and practical observations of every condition of life, may unquestionably be considered the most complete, the most philosophical, the most humane and practicable, that has yet, in any age or language, been presented to the world.

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Silvio Pellico belongs. See an estimate of what he sought to effect for freedom and pure morality, in Mr. Roscoe's interesting and instructive biographical sketch, prefixed to the "*Duties of Man*," translated from the Italian.



SOME  
THOUGHTS  
CONCERNING  
EDUCATION.



TO  
EDWARD CLARKE, ESQ.  
OF  
CHIPLEY.

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SIR,

THESE thoughts concerning education, which now come abroad into the world, do of right belong to you, being written several years since for your sake, and are no other than what you have already by you in my letters. I have so little varied any thing, but only the order of what was sent you at different times, and on several occasions, that the reader will easily find, in the familiarity and fashion of the style, that they were rather the private conversation of two friends, than a discourse designed for public view.

The importunity of friends is the common apology for publications men are afraid to own themselves forward to. But you know I can truly say, that if some, who having heard of these papers of mine, had not pressed to see them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that privacy they were designed for. But those whose judgment I defer much to, telling me that they were persuaded that this rough draught of mine might be of some use, if made more public, touched upon what will always be very prevalent with me : for I think it every man's indispensable duty, to do all the service he can to his country ; and I see not what difference he puts between himself and his cattle, who lives without that thought. This subject is of so great concernment, and a right way of education is of so general

advantage, that did I find my abilities answer my wishes, I should not have needed exhortations or importunities from others. However, the meanness of these papers, and my just distrust of them, shall not keep me, by the shame of doing so little, from contributing my mite, when there is no more required of me, than my throwing it into the public receptacle. And if there be any more of their size and notions, who liked them so well, that they thought them worth printing, I may flatter myself they will not be lost labour to every body.

I myself have been consulted of late by so many, who profess themselves at a loss how to breed their children, and the early corruption of youth is now become so general a complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the consideration of this matter on the stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite others, or afford matter of correction : for errors in education should be less indulged than any. These, like faults in the first concoction, that are never mended in the second or third, carry their afterwards incorrigible taint with them, through all the parts and stations of life.

I am so far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I should not be sorry, even for your sake, if some one abler and fitter for such a task would, in a just treatise of education, suited to our English gentry, rectify the mistakes I have made in this ; it being much more desirable to me, that young gentlemen should be put into (that which every one ought to be solicitous about) the best way of being formed and instructed, than that my opinion should be received concerning it. You will, however, in the mean time bear me witness, that the method here proposed has had no ordinary effects upon a gentleman's son it was not designed for. I will not say the good temper of the child did not very much contribute to it ; but this I think you and the parents are satisfied of, that a contrary usage, according to the ordinary disciplining of children, would not have mended that temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his book, to take a pleasure in learning, and to desire, as he does, to be taught more, than those about him think fit always to teach him.

But my business is not to recommend this treatise to you, whose opinion of it I know already, nor it to the world, either by your opinion or patronage. The well educating of their children is so much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and prosperity of the nation so much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to heart; and after having well examined and distinguished what fancy, custom, or reason advises in the case, set his helping hand to promote everywhere that way of training up youth, with regard to their several conditions, which is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce virtuous, useful, and able men in their distinct callings; though that most to be taken care of is, the gentleman's calling. For if those of that rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order.

I know not whether I have done more than shown my good wishes towards it in this short discourse; such as it is, the world now has it, and if there be any thing in it worth their acceptance, they owe their thanks to you for it. My affection to you gave the first rise to it, and I am pleased, that I can leave to posterity this mark of the friendship which has been between us: for I know no greater pleasure in this life, nor a better remembrance to be left behind one, than a long-continued friendship with an honest, useful, and worthy man, and lover of his country.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble,

And most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

March 7, 1690.



# THOUGHTS

## CONCERNING

### EDUCATION.

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1. A SOUND mind in a sound body, is a short, but full description of a happy state in this world. He that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Men's happiness or misery is most part of their own making. He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way, and he whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess, there are some men's constitutions of body and mind so vigorous and well framed by nature, that they need not much assistance from others, but by the strength of their natural genius, they are from their cradles carried towards what is excellent; and by the privilege of their happy constitutions, are able to do wonders. But examples of this kind are but few; and I think I may say, that of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little or almost insensible impressions on our

tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences: and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courses; and by this little direction given them at first in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant places. (1)

### HEALTH.

2. I imagine the minds of children as easily

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(1) Nowhere is the great importance of a well conducted education, or the incalculable risk incurred by entrusting the training of youth to impostors, more forcibly insisted on, than in the introduction to the Protagoras, where, in a light and lively manner, Socrates discloses to his young friend Hippocrates the vast extent of that power which a teacher possesses over the soul of his pupil. "You are about to put your spirit into his hands," says he; "and it behoves you well to consider who and what the man is, to whose keeping you deliver up so sacred a deposit. I am sure if you were dangerously ill, it would not without the greatest care and consultation be determined what physician should be called in; and now that your soul is sick of ignorance, and would be healed, beware, lest by aiming to escape from this disease, you fall into another far more fatal;" (*Plato. Oper. i. 155, sqq. edit. Bekk.*) It is time also for us in England to inquire *who* and *what* are the men in whose hands the education of our youth is placed; whether they are not, in many cases, sophists and impostors, who culpably misdirect and misinform the minds of their pupils, inculcating prejudices, when they should be teaching religion and imparting knowledge; and cherishing those predilections and predispositions by which they may afterwards most largely and certainly profit? Instances of such misapplication of the rights and powers of a teacher are numerous, and always will be, until the masters of youth are elevated to a higher grade in society, and shall constitute a distinct and honourable profession.

turned this or that way, as water itself; and though this be the principal part, and our main care should be about the inside, yet the clay-cottage is not to be neglected. I shall therefore begin with the case, and consider first the health of the body, as that which perhaps you may rather expect from that study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myself to; <sup>(2)</sup> and that also which will be soonest dispatched, as lying, if I guess not amiss, in a very little compass.

3. How necessary health is to our business and happiness; and how requisite a strong constitution, able to endure hardships and fatigue, is to one that will make any figure in the world, is too obvious to need any proof.

4. The consideration I shall here have of health, shall be, not what a physician ought to do with a sick or crazy child; but what the parents, without the help of physic, should do for the preservation and improvement of a healthy, or at

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<sup>(2)</sup> Locke was a physician; (see his *Biography* in the *Sacred Classics*, vol. xxv. 1—55,) and would appear to have more particularly studied what concerns the health of children. Indeed, all great and virtuous men, seeing how completely the whole life takes its colour from the good or evil management of childhood, have been solicitous to ameliorate the discipline affecting the condition of our early years. Jeremy Taylor, (*Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 126—143,) has composed a whole discourse, to impress upon mothers, from the example of the Virgin, the duty incumbent on them to nourish their own offspring; Rousseau, Buffon, Lacedepede, Cuvier, adopted the same views, and combatted the practice of swaddling, still too prevalent in France; but, so far as I know, no complete work, not purely technical, on the management of childhood, yet exists.

least not sickly constitution in their children. And this perhaps might be all dispatched in this one short rule, viz. That gentlemen should use their children, as the honest farmers and substantial yeomen do theirs. But because the mothers possibly may think this a little too hard, and the fathers too short, I shall explain myself more particularly; only laying down this as a general and certain observation for the women to consider, viz. that most children's constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by cockering and tenderness.

## WARMTH.

5. The first thing to be taken care of, is, that children be not too warmly clad or covered, winter or summer. The face when we are born, is no less tender than any other part of the body. It is use alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the cold. And therefore the Scythian philosopher gave a very significant answer to the Athenian, who wondered how he could go naked in frost and snow. "How," said the Scythian, "can you endure your face exposed to the sharp winter air?" "My face is used to it," said the Athenian. "Think me all face," replied the Scythian. <sup>(3)</sup> Our bodies will endure any thing

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<sup>(3)</sup> This story is told by Ælian with some variation of circumstances. "A Scythian king observing one of his subjects walking about naked during a heavy fall of snow, inquired of him whether he were not cold. 'Is your forehead cold?' answered the man. The king replied that it was not. 'Then think me all forehead!' said the Scythian."—(*Var. Hist.* vii. 6.)

that from the beginning they are accustomed to.

An eminent instance of this, though in the contrary excess of heat, being to our present purpose, to show what use can do, I shall set down in the author's words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious voyage. "The heats," says he, "are more violent in Malta, than in any part of Europe: they exceed those of Rome itself, and are perfectly stifling; and so much the more, because there are seldom any cooling breezes here. This makes the common people as black as gipsies: but yet the peasants defy the sun; they work on in the hottest part of the day, without intermission, or sheltering themselves from his scorching rays. This has convinced me, that nature can bring itself to many things which seem impossible, provided we accustom ourselves from our infancy. The Maltese do so, who harden the bodies of their children, and reconcile them to the heat, by making them go stark naked, without shirt, drawers, or any thing on their heads, from their cradles, till they are ten years old." (<sup>4</sup>)

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(<sup>4</sup>) *Nouveau Voyage du Levant*, p. 150—175. Though this were true of Malta, where, however, the children of the poor have a particularly squalid appearance, it can never hold good as a rule, even in warmer climates. No children are more exposed than those of the Arabs; yet this is so far from being favourable to their growth or strength that no children I have ever seen, even among the Irish in London, present a more wretched or stunted appearance. Indeed, all but those of strongest constitution must die in the experiment. Such also was the case at Sparta, and among those barbarous na-

Give me leave therefore to advise you, not to fence too carefully against the cold of this our climate. There are those in England, who wear the same clothes winter and summer, and that without any inconvenience, or more sense of cold than others find. But if the mother will needs have an allowance for frost and snow, for fear of harm, and the father for fear of censure, be sure let not his winter-clothing be too warm: and amongst other things, remember, that when nature has so well covered his head with hair, and strengthened it with a year or two's age, that he can run about by day without a cap, it is best that by night a child should also lie without one; there being nothing that more exposes to head-aches, colds, catarrhs, coughs, and several other diseases, than keeping the head warm. <sup>(5)</sup>

6. I have said *he* here, because the principal

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tions of antiquity where bodily strength was sought to be secured at every hazard. On the contrary, the children of the wealthy, who are able properly to clothe and feed them, exhibit in Egypt, as everywhere else, the greatest superiority over their poorer brethren in strength and beauty.—(*Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, vol. ii. p. 362.)

<sup>(5)</sup> I have seen this practice pursued in a large family of children with the best possible results, no inconvenience ever arising, from it, and many complaints, to which children otherwise managed are liable, being evidently avoided. While in the shade, boys may safely go bareheaded by day, or, during spring and winter, even in the sun; but, when the sun shines fiercely during the summer months, should no other inconvenience arise, the being exposed bareheaded to its rays, induces a habit of pursing up the eyes, causing early wrinkles, and frequently slight attacks of ophthalmia. At such times, therefore, as many as can afford a cover for the head should wear it.

aim of my discourse is, how a young gentleman should be brought up from his infancy, which, in all things will not so perfectly suit the education of daughters; though where the difference of sex requires different treatment, it will be no hard matter to distinguish.

7. I would also advise his feet to be washed every day in cold water, and to have his shoes so thin, that they might leak and let in water, whenever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I shall have the mistress and maids too against me. One will think it too filthy, and the other perhaps too much pains, to make clean his stockings. But yet truth will have it, that his health is much more worth, than all such considerations, and ten times as much more. And he that considers how mischievous and mortal a thing taking wet in the feet is, to those who have been bred nicely, will wish he had, with the poor people's children, gone barefoot, who, by that means, come to be so reconciled by custom to wet in their feet, that they take no more cold or harm by it, than if they were wet in their hands. And what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the hands and the feet in others, but only custom? I doubt not, but if a man from his cradle had been always used to go barefoot, whilst his hands were constantly wrapt up in warm mittins, and covered with handshoes, as the Dutch call gloves; I doubt not, I say, but such a custom would make taking wet in his hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their feet is to a great many others. The way

to prevent this, is, to have his shoes made so as to leak water, and his feet washed constantly every day in cold water. <sup>(6)</sup> It is recommendable for its cleanliness; but that which I aim at in it, is health; and therefore I limit it not precisely to any time of the day. I have known it used every night with very good success, and that all the winter, without the omitting it so much as one night in extreme cold weather; when thick ice covered the water, the child bathed his legs and feet in it, though he was of an age not big enough to rub and wipe them himself; and when he began this custom was pulling and very tender. But the great end being to harden those parts, by a frequent and familiar use of cold water, and thereby to prevent the mischiefs that usually attend accidental taking wet in the feet in those who are bred otherwise, I think it may be left to the prudence and convenience of the parents, to choose either night or morning: the time I deem indifferent, so the thing be effectually done. The health and hardiness procured by it, would be a good purchase at a much dearer rate. To which, if I add, the preventing of corns, that to some men would be a very valuable consideration. But begin

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(<sup>6</sup>) To the daily washing of the feet in cold water no objection can be made; and even the leaky shoes would be useful, if always continued from childhood upwards. But, if intermitted in youth, the man who, in boyhood, might have defied wet feet, will nevertheless be as liable to take cold in after years from the accidental use of leaky boots in winter, as if originally educated in the most delicate manner. Generally, however, those who have the care of children injure them by over solicitude about their health.

first in the spring with luke-warm, and so colder and colder every time, till in a few days you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it so winter and summer. For it is to be observed in this, as in all other alterations from our ordinary way of living, the changes must be made by gentle and insensible degrees; and so we may bring our bodies to any thing, without pain and without danger.

How fond mothers are like to receive this doctrine, is not hard to foresee. What can it be less, than to murder their tender babes, to use them thus? What! put their feet in cold water in frost and snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm? A little to remove their fears by examples, without which the plainest reason is seldom hearkened to: Seneca tells us of himself, (Ep. 53, and 83,) that he used to bathe himself in cold spring-water in the midst of winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would scarce have done, in an exuberant fortune, that could well have borne the expense of a warm bath, and in an age (for he was then old) that would have excused greater indulgence. If we think his stoical principles led him to this severity, let it be so, that this sect reconciled cold water to his sufferance. What made it agreeable to his health? For that was not impaired by this hard usage. But what shall we say to Horace, who warmed not himself with the reputation of any sect, and least of all affected stoical austerities? yet he assures us, he was wont in the win-

ter season to bathe himself in cold water. But, perhaps, Italy will be thought much warmer than England, and the chillness of their waters not to come near ours in winter. If the rivers of Italy are warmer, those of Germany and Poland are much colder, than any in this our country; and yet in these, the Jews, both men and women, bathe all over, at all seasons of the year, without any prejudice to their health. And every one is not apt to believe it is a miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. Winifred's Well, <sup>(7)</sup> that makes the cold waters of that famous spring do no harm to the tender bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the miracles done by cold baths on decayed and weak constitutions, for the recovery of health and strength; and therefore they cannot be impracticable or intolerable for the improving and hardening the bodies of those who are in better circumstances.

If these examples of grown men be not thought yet to reach the case of children, but that they may be judged still to be too tender, and unable to bear such usage, let them examine what the Germans of old, and the Irish now, do to them, and they will

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(7) Throughout Wales there are miraculous wells, some of which cure sore eyes, others sundry other ailments of the body. All these springs, I have observed, lie at some distance from the towns and villages, and, according to tradition, must generally be resorted to before sunrise. The walk and the early rising perform the cure; but, if recommended without any reference to superstition, would undoubtedly be slighted; so that, in this instance, superstition itself, evil as it is, has been rendered of service to mankind.

find, that infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure bathing, not only of their feet, but of their whole bodies, in cold water. And there are, at this day, ladies in the highlands of Scotland (\*) who use this discipline to their children in the midst of winter, and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is ice in it.

## SWIMMING.

8. I shall not need here to mention swimming, when he is of an age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. It is that saves many a man's

(\*) New-born infants, at Sparta, were put to this proof; but it was in order that the more weakly,—who often, however, in after life, prove the most valuable members of the state,—might be killed by it. A similar custom formerly prevailed among many barbarous nations of the north, among whom we find the Scotch enumerated by Virey. “Un grand nombre de nations du Nord,” he observes, “plongeaient leurs enfants naissants dans l'eau froide, ou même les étendaient jadis sur la neige : c'était la coutume des Ecossois, des Irlandais, des anciens Helvétians et Germains, des premiers habitans de l'Italie, dont un poète a dit :

Durum e stirpe genus, natos ad flumina primum  
Deferimus, sævoque gelu duramus et undis.

Les Morlaques, les Islandais, les Sibériens, et plusieurs autres, pratiquent encore cet usage aujourd'hui, ce qui habitue de bonne heure l'homme à la froidure, et lui donne une sante plus robuste ; néanmoins il faut redouter l'endurcissement du tissu cellulaire, qui rend violette la peau de ces enfants, et les fait périr.” (*Hist. Nat. du Genre Humain.* tom. i. pp. 89, 90.) Truly, as Virey says, “men are early accustomed to cold,” whom their parents roll on the snow as soon as born ! But that their health is improved by the practice seems very doubtful ; and it is admitted that untoward accidents often occur : the children perishing in the hardening.

life; and the Romans thought it so necessary that they ranked it with letters; and it was the common phrase to mark one ill-educated, and good for nothing, that he had neither learned to read nor to swim: <sup>(9)</sup> *Nec literas didicit nec natare*. But, besides the gaining a skill which may serve him at need, the advantages to health, by often bathing in cold water during the heat of summer, are so many, that I think nothing need be said to encourage it; provided this one caution be used, That

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<sup>(9)</sup> In this, as in most other things, the Romans were only the judicious imitators of the Greeks. By Solon's laws every Athenian was required to be able both to read and to swim; (*Petit. Legg. Att.* p. 239;) and to a people whose greatness, nay, almost whose existence, depended on their superior skill in naval affairs, swimming was almost as useful as the knowledge of letters. Franklin, in his Letter to Oliver Neele, has made on this subject several very good remarks: after giving his friend directions how the art is to be acquired, &c. he adds:—"Learn fairly to swim; as I wish all men were taught to do in their youth: they would, on many occurrences, be the safer for having that skill, and on many more the happier, as freer from painful apprehensions of danger, to say nothing of the enjoyment in so delightful and wholesome an exercise. Soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use either in surprising an enemy or saving themselves. And if I had now boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which once learned is never forgotten."

In the Memoirs of his life, written by himself, he describes his own proficiency in the art, and glances at the advantages he might have acquired by superior skill even in so humble an accomplishment. "At the printing-house I contracted an intimacy with a sensible young man of the name of Wygate. I taught him, as well as a friend of his, to swim, by taking them twice only into the river, after which they stood in need of no farther assistance. We one day made a party to go by water to Chelsea,

he never go into the water when exercise has at all warmed him, or left any emotion in his blood or pulse.

## AIR.

9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's health, but especially children's, is to be much in the open air, and as little as may be by the fire, even in winter. By this he will accustom himself also to heat and cold, shine and rain; all

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in order to see the college and Don Saltero's curiosities. On our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I undressed myself and leaped into the river. I swam from near Chelsea the whole way to Blackfriars, exhibiting, during my course, a variety of feats of activity and address, both upon the surface of the water, as well as under it. This sight occasioned much astonishment and pleasure to those to whom it was new. In my youth I took great delight in this exercise. I knew, and could execute, all the evolutions and positions of Thevenot; and I added to them some of my own invention, in which I endeavoured to unite gracefulness and utility. I took a pleasure in displaying them all on this occasion, and was highly flattered with the admiration they excited." (*Life of Dr. Franklin by himself*, p. 58.)

"I was one day sent for by a gentleman, whom I knew only by name. It was Sir William Wyndham. I went to his house. He had by some means heard of my performance between Chelsea and Blackfriars, and that I had taught the art of swimming to Wygate and another young man in the course of a few hours. His two sons were on the point of setting out on their travels: he was desirous they should previously learn to swim, and offered me a very liberal reward if I would undertake to instruct them. They were not yet arrived in town, and the stay I should make was uncertain: I could not, therefore, accept his proposal. I was led, however, to suppose from this incident, that if I had wished to remain in London, and open a swimming school, I should perhaps have gained a great deal of money."—*Ibid.* p. 59.

which, if a man's body will not endure, it will serve him to very little purpose in this world ; and when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to use him to it. It must be got early, and by degrees. Thus the body may be brought to bear almost any thing. If I should advise him to play in the wind and the sun without a hat, I doubt whether it could be borne. There would a thousand objections be made against it, which at last would amount to no more, in truth, than being sun-burnt. And if my young master be to be kept always in the shade, and never exposed to the sun and wind for fear of his complexion, it may be a good way to make him a beau, <sup>(10)</sup> but not a man of business. And although greater regard be to be had to beauty in the daughters ; yet I will take the liberty to say, that the more they are in the air, without prejudice to their faces, the stronger and healthier they will be ; and the nearer they come to the hardship of their brothers in their education, the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives.

## HABITS.

10. Playing in the open air has but this one danger in it, that I know ; and that is, that when he is hot with running up and down, he should sit

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<sup>(10)</sup> The laws of Sparta, little favourable to foppish delicacy, forbade a man to be either pale or fat ; the former arguing in exposure to the sun ; the latter an effeminate shrinking from manly exercises, or a gluttonous indulgence in the pleasures of the table. Every tenth day the epheboi, or youth, exhibited themselves

or lie down on the cold or moist earth. This I grant; and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with labour or exercise, <sup>(11)</sup> brings more people to the grave, or to the brink of it, by fevers, and other diseases, than any thing I know. These mischiefs are easily enough prevented whilst he is little, being then seldom out of sight. And if, during his childhood, he be constantly and rigorously kept from sitting on the ground, or drinking any cold liquor whilst he is hot, the custom of forbearing, grown into habit, will help much to preserve him, when he is no longer under his maid's or tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the case: for, as years increase, liberty must come with them; and in a great many things he must be trusted to his own conduct, since there cannot always be a guard upon him, except what you have put into his own mind by good principles, and established habits, which is the best and surest, and therefore most to

naked to the Ephori, that it might be seen whether their bodies were *finely sculptured*, as Ælian boldly expresses it, or whether they were sily growing fat! On one occasion, when Naucledes, the son of Polybiades, was found to be in better case than the law allowed, the young man was publicly driven from the assembly, and threatened with exile, unless he quickly sweated himself down.—(*Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 7.*)

<sup>(11)</sup> This is true only of our cold northern climates, where perspiration is liable to be thus suddenly checked. In the East, particularly in Egypt, both natives and strangers, even when hottest, drink freshly drawn water, without the least fear; because there the pores are so open, that the more you drink the more you perspire. Add to this, that it is river water they use, not the produce of cold rocky springs, on which the sun has never shone, or the air breathed but for a moment.

be taken care of. For, from repeated cautions and rules, never so often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing either in this, or any other case, farther than practice has established them into habits.

### CLOTHES.

11. One thing the mention of the girls brings into my mind, which must not be forgot; and that is, that your son's clothes be never made strait, especially about the breast. Let Nature have scope to fashion the body as she thinks best. She works of herself a great deal better and exacter than we can direct her. And if women were themselves to frame the bodies of their children in their wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their shapes when they are out, we should as certainly have no perfect children born, as we have few well-shaped that are strait-laced, or much tampered with. This consideration should, methinks, keep busy people (I will not say ignorant nurses and bodice-makers) from meddling in a matter they understand not; and they should be afraid to put nature out of her way in fashioning the parts, when they know not how the least and meanest is made. And yet I have seen so many instances of children receiving great harm from strait-lacing, that I cannot but conclude there are other creatures as well as monkeys, who, little wiser than they, destroy their young ones by senseless fondness, and too much embracing.

12. Narrow breasts, short and stinking breath,

ill lungs, and crookedness, are the natural and almost constant effects of hard bodice, and clothes that pinch. That way of making slender waists, and fine shapes, serves but the more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there indeed but be disproportion in the parts, when the nourishment prepared in the several offices of the body cannot be distributed as nature designs. And therefore what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, on some part not so braced, it often makes a shoulder or hip higher or bigger than its just proportion? <sup>(12)</sup> It is generally known, that the women of China, (imagining I know not what kind of beauty in it,) by bracing and binding them hard from their infancy, have very little feet. I saw lately a pair of China shoes, which I was told was for a grown woman: they were so exceedingly disproportioned to the feet of one of the same age among us, that they would scarce have been big enough for one of our little girls. Besides this, it is observed, that their

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(<sup>12</sup>) Were smallness in the waist an improvement in the human form, I should be little surprised at the efforts of ignorant young women, who have no idea of any other merit than that of external appearance, at compressing themselves in order to arrive at this supposed perfection. But such a waist as they aim at creating is wholly incompatible with female beauty, and inspires in the beholder a notion of deformity and disease. The *Venus de' Medici*, the *Venus Kallipyga*, and all other ancient statues, regarded as perfect models of feminine loveliness, are comparatively large in the waist; while the figures of Hindoo goddesses, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum, have precisely the unsightly defect so much coveted by our unreflecting countrywomen, but considered by all persons of cultivated taste as a mark of barbarian blood.

women are also very little, and short-lived ; whereas the men are of the ordinary stature of other men, and live to a proportionable age. These defects in the female sex in that country, are by some imputed to the unreasonable binding of their feet, whereby the free circulation of the blood is hindered, and the growth and health of the whole body suffer. <sup>(13)</sup> And how often do we see, that some small part of the foot being injured by a wrench or a blow, the whole leg or thigh thereby loses its strength and nourishment, and dwindles away? How much greater inconveniences may we expect, when the thorax, wherein is placed the heart and seat of life, is unnaturally compressed, and hindered from its due expansion?

#### DIET.

13. As for his diet, it ought to be very plain and simple ; and, if I might advise, flesh should be forborne as long as he is in coats, or at least till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be to his present and future health and strength, I fear it will hardly be consented to by parents, misled by the custom of eating too much flesh themselves, who will be apt to think

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<sup>(13)</sup> Various causes have been assigned for this absurd practice of the Chinese ; some pretending it was adopted immediately after a general conspiracy of the women against their husbands ; others, that it was designed to prevent their gadding abroad ; others, more rationally perhaps, attribute it to the thoughtless vanity of the women themselves, who imagine it to be a mark of aristocratic origin, since persons thus deformed from the cradle cannot have belonged to the industrious and useful classes.

their children, as they do themselves, in danger to be starved, if they have not flesh at least twice a-day. This I am sure, children will breed their teeth with much less danger, be freer from diseases whilst they were little, and lay the foundations of a healthy and strong constitution much surer, if they were not crammed so much as they are by fond mothers and foolish servants, and were kept wholly from flesh the first three or four years of their lives.

But if my young master must needs have flesh, let it be but once a day, and of one sort at a meal. Plain beef, mutton, veal, &c. without other sauce than hunger, is best; and great care should be used, that he eat bread plentifully, both alone and with every thing else; and whatever he eats that is solid, make him chew it well. We English are often negligent herein; from whence follow indigestion, and other great inconveniences. <sup>(14)</sup>

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<sup>(14)</sup> In the choice of our food we are, perhaps, more judicious than most other nations; but in our system of cookery there are many grievous defects, which exercise an injurious influence upon our health. The French, and some other nations, study the art of cookery, as if to eat were the sole business of life. But this taste sprang up among them when they were compelled to seek in the refinements of the *cuisine* some compensation for the loss of political liberty, and will doubtless disappear gradually, as they acquire more and more the taste of freemen. The passion of a gourmand is incompatible with a love of freedom. Our diet is plain and careless, because we have something better to think of; though, among the travelled few, it is possible now and then to meet with a *liberal* pupil of Brillat-Savarin, who would fain reconcile an ardent desire for reform in the House of Lords with a very erudite acquaintance with the *Almanach des Gourmands*.

14. For breakfast and supper, milk, milk-pottage, water-gruel, flummery, and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in England, are very fit for children; only, in all these, let care be taken that they be plain, and without much mixture, and very sparingly seasoned with sugar, or rather none at all; especially allspice, and other things that may heat the blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be sparing also of salt in the seasoning of all his victuals, and use him not to high-seasoned meats. Our palates grow into a relish, and liking of the seasoning and cookery, which by custom they are set to; and an over-much use of salt, besides that it occasions thirst, and over-much drinking, has other ill effects upon the body. I should think, that a good piece of well-made and well-baked brown bread, sometimes with, and sometimes without butter or cheese, would be often the best breakfast for my young master. I am sure it is as wholesome, and will make him as strong a man as greater delicacies; and if he be used to it, it will be as pleasant to him. If he at any time calls for victuals between meals, use him to nothing but dry bread. If he be hungry more than wanton, bread alone will down; and if he be not hungry, it is not fit he should eat. By this you will obtain two good effects. 1. That by custom he will come to be in love with bread; for, as I said, our palates and stomachs too are pleased with the things we are used to. Another good you will gain hereby, is, that you will not teach him to eat more or oftener than nature requires. I do not think that all people's

appetites are alike ; some have naturally stronger, and some weaker stomachs. But this I think, that many are made gourmands and gluttons by custom, that were not so by nature : and I see in some countries, men as lusty and strong, that eat but two meals a day, as others that have set their stomachs by a constant usage, like larums, to call on them for four or five. The Romans usually fasted till supper, <sup>(15)</sup> the only set meal even of those who eat more than once a day ; and those who used breakfasts, as some did, at eight, some at ten, others at twelve of the clock, and some later, neither eat flesh, nor had any thing made ready for them. Augustus, when the greatest monarch of the earth, tell us, he took a bit of dry bread in his chariot. And Seneca, in his eighty-third epistle, giving an account how he managed himself, even when he was old, and his age permitted indulgence, says, that he used to eat a piece of dry bread for his dinner, without the formality of sitting to it, though his estate would as well have paid for a better meal (had health required it) as any subject's in England, were it doubled. The masters of the world were bred up with this spare diet ; and the young gentlemen of Rome felt no want of strength or spirit, because they eat but once a day. Or if it happened by chance, that any one could not fast so long as till

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(<sup>15</sup>) The practice in this respect varied in the different ages of the Commonwealth. Among the Greeks it was customary, as with us, to eat three, sometimes four meals in the day, and that even in the Homeric age.—(*Lipsi Opera*, tom. i. p. 372.—*Athen. Deipnos*. lib. i. c. 9.)

supper, their only set meal, he took nothing but a bit of dry bread, or at most a few raisins, or some such slight thing with it, to stay his stomach. This part of temperance was found so necessary both for health and business, that the custom of only one meal a day held out against that prevailing luxury, which their eastern conquests and spoils had brought in amongst them; and those who had given up their old frugal eating, and made feasts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than one set meal a day, was thought so monstrous, that it was a reproach as low down as Cæsar's time, to make an entertainment, or sit down to a full table, till towards sun-set; <sup>(16)</sup> and therefore if it would not be thought too severe, I should judge it most convenient that my young master should have nothing but bread too for breakfast. You cannot imagine of what force custom is; and I impute a great part of our diseases in England, to our eating too much flesh, and too little bread.

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<sup>(16)</sup> This, in the East, is still the practice; and undoubtedly, even to the most temperate men, it would be disagreeable, to say nothing of its injuriousness to health, immediately after a hearty meal to return, as persons who dine at noon must, to the business of their professions. The evening hour is chosen, in Oriental countries, for its coolness and serenity, and because all the labours of the day are then completed. While travelling I always used to look forward with particular pleasure to this hour, when, with my Arabs singing or smoking, or telling stories in groups around me, I every day sat down at sunset to such a meal as a Caïreen cook could prepare, and sharp hunger give a relish to. This was also the principal meal among the natives; but the Turks often dine earlier.

## MEALS.

15. As to his meals, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should not be kept constantly to an hour: for when custom has fixed his eating to certain stated periods, his stomach will expect victuals at the usual hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; either fretting itself into a troublesome excess, or flagging into a downright want of appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept constantly to, for his breakfast, dinner, and supper, but rather varied almost every day. And if betwixt these, which I call meals, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry bread. If any one think this too hard and sparing a diet for a child, let them know, that a child will never starve nor dwindle for want of nourishment, who, besides flesh at dinner, and spoon-meat, or some such other thing, at supper, may have good bread and beer as often as he has a stomach. For thus, upon second thoughts, I should judge it best for children to be ordered. The morning is generally designed for study, to which a full stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry bread, though the best nourishment, has the least temptation; and nobody would have a child crammed at breakfast, who has any regard to his mind or body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unsuitable to one of estate and condition. A gentleman in any age ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear arms, and be a soldier. But he that in this,

breeds his son so, as if he designed him to sleep over his life in the plenty and ease of a full fortune he intends to leave him, little considers the examples he has seen, or the age he lives in.

### DRINK.

16. His drink should be only small beer; and that too he should never be suffered to have between meals, but after he had eat a piece of bread. The reasons why I say this, are these :—

17. 1. More fevers and surfeits are got by people's drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by play he be hot and dry, bread will ill go down; and so if he cannot have drink, but upon that condition, he will be forced to forbear; for, if he be very hot, he should by no means drink; at least a good piece of bread first to be eaten will gain time to warm the beer blood hot, which then he may drink safely. If he be very dry, it will go down so warmed, and quench his thirst better; and if he will not drink it so warmed, abstaining will not hurt him. Besides, this will teach him to forbear, which is a habit of great use for health of body and mind too.

18. 2. Not being permitted to drink without eating, will prevent the custom of having the cup often at his nose; a dangerous beginning, and preparation to good fellowship. Men often bring habitual hunger and thirst on themselves by custom. And if you please to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by use to such a necessity again of drinking in the night, that he

will not be able to sleep without it. It being the lullaby used by nurses, to still crying children, I believe mothers generally find some difficulty to wean their children from drinking in the night, when they first take them home. Believe it, custom prevails as much by day as by night; and you may, if you please, bring any one to be thirsty every hour.

I once lived in a house, where, to appease a forward child, they gave him drink as often as he cried; so that he was constantly bibbing. And though he could not speak, yet he drank more in twenty-four hours, than I did. Try it when you please, you may with small, as well as with strong beer, drink yourself into a drought. The great thing to be minded in education is what habits you settle; and therefore in this, as all other things, do not begin to make any thing customary, the practice whereof you would not have continue, and increase. It is convenient for health and sobriety, to drink no more than natural thirst requires; and he that eats not salt meats, nor drinks strong drink, will seldom thirst between meals, unless he has been accustomed to such unseasonable drinking.

19. Above all, take great care that he seldom, if ever, taste any wine or strong drink. There is nothing so ordinarily given children in England, and nothing so destructive to them. They ought never to drink any strong liquor, but when they need it as a cordial, and the doctor prescribes it. And in this case it is, that servants are most narrowly to be watched, and most severely to be repre-

hended when they transgress. Those mean sort of people, placing a great part of their happiness in strong drink, are always forward to make court to my young master, by offering him that which they love best themselves: and finding themselves made merry by it, they foolishly think it will do the child no harm. This you are carefully to have your eye upon, and restrain with all the skill and industry you can, there being nothing that lays a surer foundation of mischief, both to body and mind, than children being used to strong drink, especially to drink in private with the servants.

## FRUIT.

20. Fruit makes one of the most difficult chapters in the government of health, especially that of children. Our first parents ventured Paradise for it; and it is no wonder our children cannot stand the temptation, though it cost them their health. The regulation of this cannot come under any one general rule; for I am by no means of their mind, who would keep children almost wholly from fruit, as a thing totally unwholesome for them: by which strict way, they make them but the more ravenous after it, and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. Melons, peaches, most sorts of plums, and all sorts of grapes in England, I think children should be wholly kept from, as having a very tempting taste, in a very unwholesome juice; so that if it were possible, they should never so much as see them, or know there were any such things. But straw-

berries, cherries, gooseberries, or currants, when thorough ripe, I think may be pretty safely allowed them, and that with a very liberal hand, if they be eaten with these cautions:—1. Not after meals, as we usually do, when the stomach is already full of other food : but I think they should be eaten rather before or between meals, and children should have them for their breakfast. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing than hurtful to our health. Summer-fruits, being suited to the hot season of the year they come in, refresh our stomachs, languishing, and fainting under it ; and therefore I should not be altogether so strict in this point, as some are to their children: who being kept so very short, instead of a moderate quantity of well-chosen fruit, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get loose, or bribe a servant to supply them, satisfy their longing with any trash they can get, and eat to a surfeit.

Apples and pears too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered some time, I think may be safely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities ; especially apples, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after October.

Fruits also dried without sugar, I think very wholesome. But sweetmeats of all kinds are to be avoided ; which, whether they do more harm to the maker or eater, is not easy to tell. This I am sure, it is one of the most inconvenient ways of ex-

pense that vanity hath yet found out; and so I leave them to the ladies.

## SLEEP.

21. Of all that looks soft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged children, than sleep. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full satisfaction; nothing contributing more to the growth and health of children than sleep. All that is to be regulated in it, is, in what part of the twenty-four hours they should take it; which will easily be resolved, by only saying, that it is of great use to accustom them to rise early in the morning. It is best so to do, for health; and he that, from his childhood, has, by a settled custom, made rising betimes easy and familiar to him, will not, when he is a man, waste the best and most useful part of his life in drowsiness, and lying in bed. <sup>(17)</sup> If children therefore are to be called up early in the morning, it will follow of course, that they must go to bed betimes; whereby they will be accustomed to avoid the unhealthy and unsafe hours of debauchery, which are those of the even-

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<sup>(17)</sup> They who have had the care of children well know how impossible it is to abridge with safety the quantity of sleep required by their different temperaments; and how unphilosophical are the views of those who would regulate it, not according to the constitution, but to the age. Some, for their health's sake, have need of much more sleep than others; and, perhaps, in childhood, it is the more robust that require most. As a general rule, it may be laid down that, during the first years of their lives, children need more repose than afterwards; and many,

ings; and they who keep good hours, seldom are guilty of any great disorders. I do not say this, as if your son, when grown up, should never be in company past eight, nor ever chat over a glass of

perhaps, will agree with Fried-Londez, who, in his work on education, makes the following approximation to an exact distribution of time :

Age.	Sleep.	Exercise.	Occupation.	Rest.
7 years	9 or 10 hours	10	1	4
8	9	9	2	4
9	9	8	3	4
10	8 to 9	8	4	4
11	8	7	5	4
12	8	6	6	4
13	8	5	7	4
14	7	5	8	4
15	7	4	9	4

M. Bureaud-Riofrey, who quotes the above table, has some very good remarks on this subject; (*Education Physique des Jeunes Filles*, &c. p. 283, *sqq.*) but it is impossible that any person but the parents, or those who *pro tempore* stand in their place, should regulate the quantity of sleep necessary to a child, which must be determined by its constitution and mental activity. Blumenbach (*Elements of Physiology*, p. 283) observes, that “the quantity of sleep depends much upon age, constitution, temperament, &c.; generally speaking, much sleep is the attendant of weakness, as we find in infants born prematurely, and in superannuated persons, and is a very frequent source of fatuity and torpor. Physicians observe, that in some diseases of the nervous system, persons may be whole days, or even weeks with little or no sleep. There are individuals who pretend, that during the most active period of their lives three hours’ sleep suffices them. General Pichegru assured Sir Gilbert Blane, that in the course of his active campaigns he had for a whole year not more than an hour’s sleep, on an average, in the twenty-four hours.—(*Medical Logic*, p. 83, cited by Dr. Elliotson, in his *Notes on Blumenbach*, p. 288.)

wine until midnight. You are now, by the accustoming of his tender years, to indispose him to those inconveniences as much as you can ; and it will be no small advantage, that contrary practice having made sitting up uneasy to him, it will make him often avoid, and very seldom propose midnight revels. But if it should not reach so far, but fashion and company should prevail, and make him live as others do above twenty, it is worth the while to accustom him to early rising and early going to bed between this and that, for the present improvement of his health, and other advantages.

Though I have said, a large allowance of sleep, even as much as they will take, should be made to children when they are little ; yet I do not mean, that it should always be continued to them in so large a proportion, and they suffered to indulge a drowsy laziness in their bed, as they grow up bigger. But whether they should begin to be restrained at seven, or ten years old, or any other time, is impossible to be precisely determined. Their tempers, strength, and constitutions, must be considered. But some time between seven and fourteen, if they are too great lovers of their beds, I think it may be seasonable to begin to reduce them by degrees to about eight hours, which is generally rest enough for healthy grown people. If you have accustomed him as you should do, to rise constantly very early in the morning, this fault of being too long in bed will easily be reformed, and most children will be forward enough to shorten that time themselves, by coveting to sit up with the

company at night ; though if they be not looked after, they will be apt to take it out in the morning, which should by no means be permitted. They should constantly be called up and made to rise at their early hour ; but great care should be taken in waking them, that it be not done hastily, nor with a loud or shrill voice, or any other sudden violent noise. This often affrights children, and does them great harm ; and sound sleep thus broke off, with sudden alarms, is apt enough to discompose any one. <sup>(18)</sup> When children are to be wakened out of their sleep, be sure to begin with a low call, and some gentle motion, and so draw them out of it by degrees, and give them none but kind words and usage, until they are come perfectly to themselves, and being quite dressed, you are sure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their sleep, how gently soever you do it, is pain enough to them ; and care should be taken not to add any other uneasiness to it, especially such that may terrify them.

22. Let his bed be hard, and rather quilts than feathers. Hard lodging strengthens the parts ; whereas being buried every night in feathers melts and dissolves the body, is often the cause of weak-

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<sup>(18)</sup> Throughout this work Locke has borrowed many ideas from Montaigne ; and he here alludes to a passage in the "Essais," (vol. ii. p. 119,) where the old Gascon philosopher describes with what care he was educated from an infant, and gives vent to all the gratitude he felt towards his indulgent father. "Parcequ' aucuns tiennent, que cela trouble la cervelle tendre des enfans, de

ness, and the forerunner of an early grave. And, besides the stone, which has often its rise from this warm wrapping of the reins, several other indispositions, and that which is the root of them all, a tender weakly constitution, is very much owing to down-beds. Besides, he that is used to hard lodging at home, will not miss his sleep (where he has most need of it) in his travels abroad, for want of his soft bed, and his pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiss, to make his bed after different fashions; sometimes lay his head higher, sometimes lower, that he may not feel every little change he must be sure to meet with, who is not designed to lie always in my young master's bed at home, and to have his maid lay all things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great cordial of nature is sleep. He that misses that, will suffer by it; and he is very unfortunate, who can take his cordial only in his mother's fine gilt cup, and not in a wooden dish. He that can sleep soundly, takes the cordial; and it matters not, whether it be on a soft bed, or the hard boards. It is sleep only that is the thing necessary.

## COSTIVENESS.

23. One thing more there is, which has a great influence upon the health, and that is, going to

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les eveiller le matin en sursaat, et de les arracher du sommeil (auquel ils sont plonges beaucoup plus que nous ne sommes) tout-à-coup et par violence, il me faisoit eveiller par le son de quelqu' instrument, et ne fus jamais sans homme qui m'en servit."

stool regularly : people that are very loose, have seldom strong thoughts, or strong bodies. But the cure of this, both by diet and medicine, being much more easy than the contrary evil, there needs not much to be said about it: for if it come to threaten, either by its violence or duration, it will soon enough, and sometimes too soon, make a physician be sent for; and if it be moderate or short, it is commonly best to leave it to nature. On the other side, costiveness has too its ill effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by physic; purging medicines, which seem to give relief, rather increasing than removing the evil.

24. It being an indisposition I had a particular reason to inquire into, and not finding the cure of it in books, I set my thoughts on work, believing, that greater changes than that might be made in our bodies if we took the right course, and proceeded by rational steps.

1. Then I considered, that going to stool, was the effect of certain motions of the body; especially of the peristaltic motion of the guts.

2. I considered, that several motions, that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet, by use and constant application, be brought to be habitual, if by an unintermitted custom they were at certain seasons endeavoured to be constantly produced.

3. I had observed some men, who by taking after supper a pipe of tobacco, never failed of a stool, and began to doubt with myself, whether it were not more custom, than the tobacco, that gave them the benefit of nature; or at least, if the to-

bacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous motion in the guts, than by any purging quality ; for then it would have had other effects. Having thus once got the opinion, that it was possible to make it habitual, the next thing was to consider what way and means was the likeliest to obtain it.

4. Then I guessed, that if a man, after his first eating in the morning, would presently solicit nature, and try whether he could strain himself so as to obtain a stool, he might in time, by a constant application, bring it to be habitual.

25. The reasons that made me choose that time, were, 1. Because the stomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it (for I would never, but in case of necessity, have any one eat but what he likes, and when he has an appetite) it was apt to embrace it close by a strong constriction of its fibres ; which constriction, I supposed, might probably be continued on in the guts, and so increase their peristaltic motion, as we see in the ileus, that an inverted motion, being begun anywhere below, continues itself all the whole length, and makes even the stomach obey that irregular motion.

2. Because when men eat they usually relax their thoughts, and the spirits, then free from other employments, are more vigorously distributed into the lower belly, which thereby contribute to the same effect.

3. Because, whenever men have leisure to eat, they have leisure enough also to make so much court to *Madam Cloacina*, as would be necessary to our present purpose ; but else, in the variety of

human affairs and accidents, it was impossible to affix it to any hour certain, whereby the custom would be interrupted. Whereas men in health seldom failing to eat once a day, though the hour changed, the custom might still be preserved.

26. Upon these grounds the experiment began to be tried, and I have known none who have been steady in the prosecution of it, and taken care to go constantly to the necessary-house, after their first eating, whenever that happened, whether they found themselves called on or not, and there endeavour to put nature upon her duty, but in a few months they obtained the desired success, and brought themselves to so regular a habit, that they seldom ever failed of a stool after their first eating, unless it were by their own neglect: for, whether they have any motion or not, if they go to the place, and do their part, they are sure to have nature very obedient.

27. I would therefore advise, that this course should be taken with a child every day presently after he has eaten his breakfast. Let him be set upon the stool, as if disburthening were as much in his power, as filling his belly; and let not him or his maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is so; and if he be forced to endeavour, by being hindered from his play, or eating again till he has been effectually at stool, or at least done his utmost, I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reason to suspect, that children being usually intent on their play, and very heedless of any thing else, often let

pass those motions of nature, when she calls them but gently; and so they neglecting the seasonable offers, do by degrees bring themselves into an habitual costiveness. That by this method costiveness may be prevented I do more than guess; having known by the constant practice of it for some time, a child brought to have a stool regularly after his breakfast every morning.

28. How far any grown people will think fit to make trial of it, must be left to them; though I cannot but say, that considering the many evils that come from that defect of a requisite easing of nature, I scarce know any thing more conducing to the preservation of health, than this is. Once in four-and-twenty hours, I think is enough; and nobody, I guess, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without physic, which commonly proves very ineffectual in the cure of a settled and habitual costiveness.<sup>(19)</sup>

#### PHYSIC.

29. This is all I have to trouble you with concerning his management in the ordinary course of his health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I should give some directions of physic, to prevent diseases; for which I have only this one, very sacredly to be observed, never to give children any physic for prevention. The observation of what I have already advised, will, I suppose, do

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<sup>(19)</sup> Locke here speaks as a physician, and with all the plainness of our plain-spoken ancestors.

that better than the ladies' diet-drinks or apothecaries' medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, lest, instead of preventing, you draw on diseases. Nor even upon every little indisposition is physic to be given, or the physician to be called to children, especially if he be a busy man, that will presently fill their windows with gallipots, and their stomachs with drugs. It is safer to leave them wholly to nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper, or that thinks children are to be cured, in ordinary distempers, by any thing but diet, or by a method very little distant from it: it seeming suitable both to my reason and experience, that the tender constitutions of children should have as little done to them as is possible, and as the absolute necessity of the case requires. A little cold-stilled red poppy-water, which is the true surfeit-water, with ease, and abstinence from flesh, often puts an end to several distempers in the beginning, which, by too forward applications, might have been made lusty diseases. When such a gentle treatment will not stop the growing mischief, nor hinder it from turning into a formed disease, it will be time to seek the advice of some sober and discreet physician. In this part, I hope, I shall find an easy belief; and nobody can have a pretence to doubt the advice of one who has spent some time in the study of physic, when he counsels you not to be too forward in making use of physic and physicians.

30. And thus I have done with what concerns the body and health, which reduces itself to these

few and easy observable rules. Plenty of open air, exercise, and sleep; plain diet, no wine or strong drink, and very little or no physic; not too warm and strait clothing; especially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often used to cold water, and exposed to wet.

## MIND.

31. Due care being had to keep the body in strength and vigour, so that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the mind; the next and principal business is, to set the mind right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to consent to nothing but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational creature.

32. If what I have said in the beginning of this discourse be true, as I do not doubt but it is, viz. That the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men is owing more to their education, than to any thing else,<sup>(20)</sup> we have reason to conclude, that great care is to be had of forming children's minds, and giving them that seasoning early, which shall influence their lives always after: for when they do well or ill, the praise or blame will be laid there; and when any thing is done awk-

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<sup>(20)</sup> Helvetius, who adopted this idea, and with some necessary modifications made it the basis of his system of education, has exhibited, in the development of it, extraordinary ingenuity and force of reasoning. This writer, now very little read, contains, nevertheless, in the midst of much that is objectionable, many just, and some uncommon remarks, more particularly in his posthumous work, "*De l'Homme.*"

wardly, the common saying will pass upon them, that it is suitable to their breeding.

33. As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth is placed in this, That a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way.

34. The great mistake I have observed in people's breeding their children, has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its due season; that the mind has not been made obedient to discipline, and pliant to reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents being wisely ordained by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reason watch not that natural affection very warily, are apt, I say, to let it run into fondness. They love their little ones, and it is their duty; but they often, with them, cherish their faults too. They must not be crossed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being in their infancies not capable of great vices, their parents think they may safely enough indulge their irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty perverseness which they think well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverse trick, but excused it, saying it was a small matter, Solon

very well replied, aye, but custom is a great one. <sup>(21)</sup>

35. The fondling must be taught to strike and call names, must have what he calls for, and do what he pleases. Thus parents, by humouring and cockering them when little, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain. For when their children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make use of them as play-things, then they complain that the brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them wilful, and are troubled with those ill humours which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep a root to be easily extirpated. For he that hath been used to have his will in every thing, as long as he was in coats, why should we think it strange, that he should desire it, and contend for

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(<sup>21</sup>) Lord Bacon, (*Apophthegms, New and Old*, No. 190,) tells the story as follows:—"Plato reproved severely a young man, for entering into a disreputable house. The young man said to him, 'What, for so small a matter?' Plato replied, 'But custom is no small matter.'" Erasmus has another version: "*Adolescentem quòd lusisset aleam, graviter increpuit: qui quum dixisset, sic objurgas ob rem parvam? At parvum non est, inquit, assuescere.*"—(*Apophthegm.* l. vii. p. 567.)

it still, when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a man, age shows his faults the more; so that there be few parents then so blind as not to see them, few so insensible as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid before he could speak or go; he had the mastery of his parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the privilege, which the parents' indulgence until then so largely allowed him? Try it in a dog or a horse, or any other creature, and see whether the ill and resty tricks they have learned when young, are easily to be mended when they are knit; and yet none of those creatures are half so wilful and proud, or half so desirous to be masters of themselves and others, as man.

36. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are very young, and discipline betimes those other creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own offspring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men. For if the child must have grapes or sugarplums when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor baby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his desires carry him to wine or women? They are objects as suitable to the longing of one of more years, as what

he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a child. The having desires, accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several ages, is not the fault; but the not having them subject to the rules and restraints of reason: the difference lies not in having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny ourselves in them. He that is not used to submit his will to the reason of others when he is young, will scarce hearken to submit to his own reason when he is of an age to make use of it. And what kind of a man such a one is like to prove, is easy to foresee.

37. These are oversights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their children's education. But if we look into the common management of children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of manners which the world complains of, that there are any footsteps at all left of virtue. I desire to know what vice can be named, which parents, and those about children, do not season them with, and drop into them the seeds of, as soon as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give, and the patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here is, the downright teaching them vice, and actual putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, revenge, and cruelty. Give me a blow, that I may beat him, is a lesson which most children every day hear; and it is thought nothing, because their hands have not strength to

do any mischief. But I ask, does not this corrupt their mind? Is not this the way of force and violence, that they are set in? And if they have been taught when little, to strike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer, are they not prepared to do it when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modesty, warmth, and defence, are by the folly or vice of parents recommended to their children for other uses. They are made matter of vanity and emulation. A child is set a longing after a new suit, for the finery of it; and when the little girl is tricked up in her new gown and commode, how can her mother do less than teach her to admire herself, by calling her, her little queen and her princess? Thus the little ones are taught to be proud of their clothes, before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this outside fashionableness of the tailor or tirewoman's making, when their parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and equivocations, and excuses little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people, and commended in apprentices and children, whilst they are for their masters' or parents' advantage. And can it be thought, that he that finds the straining of truth dispensed with, and encouraged, whilst it is for his godly master's turn,

will not make use of that privilege for himself, when it may be for his own profit.<sup>(22)</sup>

Those of the meaner sort are hindered, by the straitness of their fortunes, from encouraging intemperance in their children, by the temptation of their diet, or invitations to eat or drink more than enough; but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, show that it is not the dislike of drunkenness or gluttony, that keeps them from excess, but want of materials. But if we look into the houses of those who are a little warmer in their fortunes, there eating and drinking are made so much the great business and happiness of life, that children are thought neglected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces and ragouts, and food disguised by all the arts of cookery, must tempt their palates, when their bellies are full; and then, for fear the stomach should be overcharged, a pretence is found for the other glass of wine to help digestion, though it only serves to increase the surfeit.

Is my young master a little out of order, the first question is, What will my dear eat? What shall I get for thee? Eating and drinking are instantly

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(22) See what the philosopher has written on the love of truth, in the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, (book iv. ch. 19, §. 1.) where, among other things, he observes, "that, whoever would seriously set upon the search of truth, ought, in the first place, to prepare his mind with a love of it. For he that loves it not, will not take much pains to get, or be much concerned when he misses it."

pressed ; and every body's invention is set on work to find out something luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers, as a defence against their increase ; that being freed from the ordinary labour of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humours.

And where children are so happy in the care of their parents, as by their prudence to be kept from the excess of their tables, to the sobriety of a plain and simple diet, yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the contagion that poisons the mind ; though, by a discreet management whilst they are under tuition, their healths perhaps may be pretty well secured, yet their desires must needs yield to the lessons which everywhere will be read to them upon this part of epicurism. The commendation that eating well has everywhere, cannot fail to be a successful incentive to natural appetites, and bring them quickly to the liking and expense of a fashionable table. This shall have from every one, even the reprovers of vice, the title of living well. And what shall sullen reason dare to say against the public testimony ? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that luxury, which is so much owned and universally practised by those of the best quality ?

This is now so grown a vice, and has so great supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue ; and whether it will not be thought folly, or want of knowledge of the

world, to open one's mouth against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little satire out of my way, did I not mention it with this view, that it might awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children, when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that, perhaps, in those they thought places of security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this subject, much less run over all the particulars that would show what pains are used to corrupt children, and instil principles of vice into them: but I desire parents soberly to consider, what irregularity or vice there is which children are not visibly taught, and whether it be not their duty and wisdom to provide them other instructions.

#### CRAVING.

38. It seems plain to me, that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires, where reason does not authorize them. This power is to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an early practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would advise, that, contrary to the ordinary way, children should be used to submit their desires, and go without their longings, even from their very cradles. The first thing they should learn to know, should be, that they were not to have any thing because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things

suitable to their wants were supplied to them, so that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it, would never, with bawling and peevishness, contend for mastery, nor be half so uneasy to themselves and others as they are, because from the first beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their desire by the impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other things than they do for the moon.<sup>(23)</sup>

39. I say not this, as if children were not to be indulged in any thing, or that I expected they should in hanging-sleeves have the reason and conduct of counsellors. I consider them as children, who must be tenderly used, who must play, and have play-things. That which I mean, is, that whenever they craved what was not fit for them to have or do, they should not be permitted it, because they were little and desired it: nay, whatever they were importunate for, they should be sure, for that very reason, to be denied. I have seen children at a table, who, whatever was there, never asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them: and at another place, I have seen others

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<sup>(23)</sup> This is borne out by every day's experience. Children accustomed to be indulged with whatever they desire are in a perpetual fever of fretfulness, when accident prevents the accomplishment of their wishes; while those who, when their cravings are improper have been used to be told, "You cannot have that,"—immediately acquiesce, when refused any thing with firmness.

cry for every thing they saw ; must be served out of every dish, and that first too. What made this vast difference but this, that one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for, the other to go without it ? The younger they are, the less I think are their unruly and disorderly appetites to be complied with ; and the less reason they have of their own, the more are they to be under the absolute power and restraint of those in whose hands they are. From which I confess it will follow, that none but discreet people should be about them. If the world commonly does otherwise, I cannot help that. I am saying what I think should be ; which if it were already in fashion, I should not need to trouble the world with a discourse on this subject. But yet I doubt not, but when it is considered, there will be others of opinion with me, that the sooner this way is begun with children, the easier it will be for them, and their governors too ; and that this ought to be observed as an inviolable maxim, that whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by crying or importunity, unless one has a mind to teach them to be impatient and troublesome, by rewarding them for it when they are so.

40. Those therefore that intend ever to govern their children, should begin it whilst they are very little, and look that they perfectly comply with the will of their parents. Would you have your son obedient to you when past a child, be sure then to establish the authority of a father as soon as he is

capable of submission, and can understand in whose power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it in his infancy; and as he approaches more to a man, admit him nearer to your familiarity; so shall you have him your obedient subject (as is fit) whilst he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man. <sup>(24)</sup> For methinks they mightily misplace the treatment due to their children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them, and keep them at a distance, when they are grown up: for liberty and indulgence can do no good to children; their want of judgment makes them stand in need of restraint and discipline; and on the contrary, imperiousness and severity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your children, when grown up, weary of you, and secretly to say within themselves, When will you die, father?

41. I imagine every one will judge it reasonable, that their children, when little, should look upon their parents as their lords, their absolute governors, and as such stand in awe of them: and that when they come to riper years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure friends, and as such love and reverence them. The way I have

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<sup>(24)</sup> Lord King, in his *Life of Locke*, informs us, that the conduct here recommended to parents was that of the philosopher's own father, who, as soon as years and steadiness of temper had fitted him for the honour, admitted his son to his friendship, and ever after lived with him on terms of the greatest familiarity.

mentioned, if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our children, when grown up, to be like ourselves, with the same passions, the same desires. We would be thought rational creatures, and have our freedom; we love not to be uneasy under constant rebukes and brow-beatings, nor can we bear severe humours, and great distance in those we converse with. Whoever has such treatment when he is a man, will look out other company, other friends, other conversation, with whom he can be at ease. If therefore a strict hand be kept over children from the beginning, they will in that age be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other: and if, as they grow up to the use of reason, the rigour of government be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, the father's brow more smoothed to them, and the distance by degrees abated, his former restraints will increase their love, when they find it was only a kindness to them, and a care to make them capable to deserve the favour of their parents, and the esteem of every body else.

42. Thus much for the settling your authority over your children in general. Fear and awe ought to give you the first power over their minds, and love and friendship in riper years to hold it: for the time must come, when they will be past the rod and correction; and then if the love of you make them not obedient and dutiful, if the love of virtue and reputation keep them not in laudable courses, I ask, what hold will you have upon them to turn

them to it? Indeed, fear of having a scanty portion, if they displease you, may make them slaves to your estate, but they will be nevertheless ill and wicked in private: and that restraint will not last always. Every man must some time or other be trusted to himself and his own conduct; and he that is a good, a virtuous, and able man, must be made so within. And therefore what he is to receive from education, what is to sway and influence his life, must be something put into him betimes; habits woven into the very principles of his nature, and not a counterfeit carriage, and dissembled outside, put on by fear, only to avoid the present anger of a father, who perhaps may disinherit him.

## PUNISHMENTS.

43. This being laid down in general, as the course which ought to be taken, it is fit we now come to consider the parts of the discipline to be used, a little more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a strict hand over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough, what is due to their tender age and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish, when you have heard me a little farther: for I am very apt to think, that great severity of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm in education; and I believe it will be found that, *cæteris paribus*, those children, who have been most chastised, seldom make the best men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, that whatsoever rigour is necessary, it is more

to be used the younger children are; and having by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder sort of government.

44. A compliance and suppleness of their wills being by a steady hand introduced by parents, before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were so, preventing all occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till awe and respect be grown familiar, and there appears not the least reluctance in the submission and ready obedience of their minds. When this reverence is once thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it, and the more the longer it is deferred,) it is by it, still mixed with as much indulgence as they make not an ill use of, and not by beating, chiding, or other servile punishments, they are for the future to be governed as they grow up to more understanding.

45. That this is so, will be easily allowed, when it is but considered, what is to be aimed at in an ingenuous education, and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes;

and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawning of knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirmed in them, by all the care and ways imaginable, by those who have the oversight of their education.

46. 2. On the other side, if the mind be curbed, and humbled too much in children; if their spirits be abased and broken much, by too strict a hand over them, they lose all their vigour and industry, and are in a worse state than the former. For extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men: but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art; and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirits easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the true secret of education.

47. The usual, lazy, and short way by chastisement, and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education, because it tends to both those mischiefs,

which, as we have shown, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other ruin all that miscarry.

48. 1. This kind of punishment contributes not at all to the mastery of our natural propensity to indulge corporal and present pleasure, and to avoid pain at any rate, but rather encourages it, and thereby strengthens that in us, which is the root from whence spring all vicious actions, and the irregularities of life. For what other motive, but of sensual pleasure and pain, does a child act by, who drudges at his book against his inclinations, or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit, that he takes pleasure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it, to govern his actions, and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any correction useful to a child, where the shame of suffering for having done amiss, does not work more upon him than the pain.

49. 2. This sort of correction naturally breeds an aversion to that which it is the tutor's business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves whipped, and chid, and teased about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them, when grown men would not be able to be recon-

ciled to any thing by such ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with blows or ill language be hauled to it, when he had no mind; or be constantly so treated, for some circumstances in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joined with: and the very sight of a cup, wherein any one uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach, so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be never so clean and well-shaped, and of the richest materials.

50. 3. Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper. The child submits, and dissembles obedience, whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and by being out of sight, he can promise himself impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination; which by this way is not at all altered, but, on the contrary, heightened and increased in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more violence; or,

51. 4. If severity carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it is often by bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous disease, by breaking the mind; and then, in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a low spirited moped creature, who, however with his unnatural sobriety he may please silly people, who commend tame

unactive children, because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be all his life an useless thing to himself and others. <sup>(25)</sup>

### REWARDS.

52. Beating them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal punishments, are not the discipline fit to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in

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<sup>(25)</sup> Of all questions connected with the subject of education, this of personal chastisement would appear to be the most difficult. Locke's idea that it breaks the spirit of children is confuted by the experience of all ages; nor is it a jot more correct to say that it naturally creates an aversion to learning, in any who are not born to be dunces. Both at Athens and Sparta, not only the boys, but the youth, even in the gymnasia, had their irregularities punished with stripes, undoubtedly without their spirits being broken, or any aversion created for those studies by which they were to distinguish themselves in the republic. Correction is inflicted in our own country with like results. But the question is, respecting its efficacy in promoting the ends of discipline, and whether other punishments might not be employed with equal or greater advantage. My own experience, as the father of a numerous family, is, that they cannot. With a few timid un-energetic natures, or where a child is brought up, in the midst of grown persons, alone, confinement, sour looks, banishment from the society of those they love, may, perhaps, be found sufficient, particularly with girls; but no man, who has ever had to deal with a house full of robust, high-spirited, energetic, adventurous boys, could ever hope to maintain order, or enforce application, or repress the tyranny of the stronger over the weaker, without sometimes having recourse to the rod. I hear, indeed, of such

great occasions, and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his son apples, or sugarplums, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorize his love of pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you give his inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous

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marvels, but I never see them ; and fear that these manageable children exist only upon paper. Many philosophers, whose decisions I very much respect, entertain an entirely different opinion. "I condemn," says Montaigne, "all violence in the education of a gentle spirit, nurtured for honour and liberty. There is, I know not what of servility in rigour and constraint ; and, in my opinion, that which cannot be effected by reason, prudence, and care, will never be effected by force. Thus was I brought up : twice only, I have been told, did I taste of the rod in my childhood, and that very gently. The same consideration was due from me to my own offspring ; they all died *at nurse* ; but Leonora, the only girl who escaped, was never punished otherwise than by words, and those very soft ones, until she was past six years old. \* \* \* I never saw the rod produce any other effect than to render the minds of children more pusillanimous, or maliciously obstinate."—(*Essais*, lib. ii. ch. 8.) In another place he says : "Without art, without books, without grammar or rules, without stripes or tears, I learned Latin as well as my teacher understood it."—(*Essais*, lib. i. ch. 25.) Latin was the language spoken at Montaigne Castle, and thus, being his vernacular tongue, no wonder the whip was not necessary. With Greek, which was not so taught him, his acquaintance always remained very slender.

man, it is fit he should learn to cross his appetite, and deny his inclination to riches, finery, or pleasing his palate, &c. whenever his reason advises the contrary, and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit by the offer of money, or reward the pains of learning his book by the pleasure of a luscious morsel ; when you promise him a lace-cravat or a fine new suit, upon performance of some of his little tasks ; what do you by proposing these as rewards, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them ? Thus people, to prevail with children to be industrious about their grammar, dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their lives, by misapplied rewards and punishments, sacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetousness, &c. for in this way flattering those wrong inclinations which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the foundations of those future vices which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our desires, and accustoming them early to submit to reason.

53. I say not this, that I would have children kept from the conveniences or pleasures of life, that are not injurious to their health or virtue. On the contrary, I would have their lives made as pleasant and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them ; provided it be with this caution,

that they have those enjoyments, only as the consequences of the state of esteem and acceptance they are in with their parents and governors; but they should never be offered or bestowed on them, as the rewards of this or that particular performance, that they show an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

54. But if you take away the rod on one hand, and these little encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other, how then (will you say) shall children be governed? Remove hope and fear, and there is an end of all discipline. I grant that good and evil, reward and punishment, are the only motives to a rational creature: these are the spur and reins whereby all mankind are set on work, and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to children too. For I advise their parents and governors always to carry this in their minds, that children are to be treated as rational creatures.

55. Rewards, I grant, and punishments must be proposed to children, if we intend to work upon them. The mistake I imagine is, that those that are generally made use of, are ill chosen. The pains and pleasures of the body are, I think, of ill consequence, when made the rewards and punishments whereby men would prevail on their children; for, as I said before, they serve but to increase and strengthen those inclinations, which it is our business to subdue and master. What principle of virtue do you lay in a child, if you will redeem his

desires of one pleasure, by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his appetite, and instruct it to wander. If a child cries for an unwholesome and dangerous fruit, you purchase his quiet by giving him a less hurtful sweetmeat. This perhaps may preserve his health, but spoils his mind, and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the object, but flatter still his appetite, and allow that must be satisfied, wherein, as I have shown, lies the root of the mischief; and until you bring him to be able to bear a denial of that satisfaction, the child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the disease is not cured. By this way of proceeding, you foment and cherish in him that which is the spring from whence all the evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break out again with more violence, give him stronger longings, and you more trouble.

56. The rewards and punishments then, whereby we should keep children in order, are quite of another kind, and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the business, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, How shall this be done? I confess it does not at first appearance want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to

seek the ways (and practise them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great secret of education. (<sup>26</sup>)

57. First, children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of praise and commendation. They find a pleasure in being esteemed and valued, especially by their parents, and those whom they depend on. If therefore the father caress and commend them when they do well, show a cold and neglectful countenance to them upon doing ill, and this accompanied by a like carriage of the mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference; and this, if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of itself work more than threats or blows, which lose their force when once grown common, and are of no use when shame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborne, and never to be used, but in the case hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

58. But, secondly, To make the sense of esteem

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(<sup>26</sup>) This, no doubt, is a most important consideration. The love of praise, and the dread of blame exist in all men; but in many, perhaps in most, they are too feeble to be relied on as steady principles of action. Dull, heavy, unambitious children, (and the same is true of men,) will more frequently yield to their indolence, or be diverted from their duty by the allurements of play, or by any other temptation, than they will by the dread of censure, or desire of approbation, be irresistibly impelled towards what is right. On the other hand, ingenious lads, alive to all the nobler influences, may be very powerfully operated upon by the hope of praise.

or disgrace sink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things should constantly accompany these different states; not as particular rewards and punishments of this or that particular action, but as necessarily belonging to, and constantly attending one, who by his carriage has brought himself into a state of disgrace or commendation. By which way of treating them, children may as much as possible be brought to conceive, that those that are commended, and in esteem for doing well, will necessarily be beloved and cherished by every body, and have all other good things as a consequence of it; and on the other side, when any one by miscarriage falls into disesteem, and cares not to preserve his credit, he will unavoidably fall under neglect and contempt; and in that state, the want of whatever might satisfy or delight him will follow. In this way the objects of their desires are made assisting to virtue, when a settled experience from the beginning teaches children that the things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoyed by those only who are in a state of reputation. If by these means you can come once to shame them out of their faults, (for besides that, I would willingly have no punishment,) and make them in love with the pleasure of being well thought of, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue.

59. The great difficulty here is, I imagine, from the folly and perverseness of servants, who are

hardly to be hindered from crossing herein the design of the father and mother. Children discountenanced by their parents for any fault, find usually a refuge and relief in the caresses of those foolish flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the parents endeavour to establish. When the father or mother looks sour on the child, every body else should put on the same coldness to him, and nobody give him countenance, until forgiveness asked, and a reformation of his fault has set him right again, and restored him to his former credit. <sup>(27)</sup> If this were constantly observed, I guess there would be little need of blows or chidings: their own ease and satisfaction would quickly teach children to court commendation, and avoid doing that which they found every body condemned, and they were sure to suffer for, without being chid

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(<sup>27</sup>) The co-operation of servants, in the work of education, is extremely difficult to command. This portion of the treatise regards more the education of those who have the management of children, than of the children themselves; and ultimately resolves itself into this:—be wise and virtuous yourselves, and your children will be so. Unfortunately, it is easier to desire than to obtain wisdom. We move in a vicious circle: because our parents were unwise our education, which should have rendered us so, was ill-directed; we, therefore, lack the wisdom necessary to enable us effectually to instruct our children; for this reason they, in their turn, are imperfectly trained; and must transmit their imperfections to posterity. But this should not discourage us from attempting all we can; for, though the children of Socrates were not wise, and those of Pericles and Alcibiades undistinguished for ability, we must not lose faith in the force of example.

or beaten. This would teach them modesty and shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that which they found made them slighted and neglected by every body. But how this inconvenience from servants is to be remedied, I must leave to parents' care and consideration; only I think it of great importance, and that they are very happy who can get discreet people about their children.

60. Frequent beating or chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided; because this sort of correction never produces any good, farther than it serves to raise shame and abhorrence of the miscarriage that brought it on them: and if the greatest part of the trouble be not the sense that they have done amiss, and the apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just displeasure of their best friends, the pain of whipping will work but an imperfect cure. It only patches up for the present, and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the sore: ingenuous shame, and the apprehensions of displeasure, are the only true restraint. These alone ought to hold the reins, and keep the child in order; but corporal punishments must necessarily lose that effect, and wear out the sense of shame, where they frequently return. Shame in children has the same place that modesty has in women, which cannot be kept, and often transgressed against. And as to the apprehension of displeasure in the parents, that will come to be very insignificant, if the marks of that displeasure

quickly cease, and a few blows fully expiate. Parents should well consider what faults in their children are weighty enough to deserve the declaration of their anger: but when their displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any punishment with it, they ought not presently to lay by the severity of their brows, but to restore their children to their former grace, with some difficulty, and delay a full reconciliation, until their conformity, and more than ordinary merit make good their amendment. If this be not so ordered, punishment will, by familiarity, become a mere thing of course, and lose all its influence; offending, being chastised, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary, as noon, night, and morning following one another.

61. Concerning reputation, I shall only remark this one thing more of it, that though it be not the true principle and measure of virtue, (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty, and the satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that light God has given him, with the hopes of acceptance and reward,) yet it is that which comes nearest to it: and being the testimony and applause that other people's reason, as it were by a common consent, gives to virtuous and well-ordered actions, it is the proper guide and encouragement of children, until they grow able to judge for themselves, and to find what is right by their own reason.

62. This consideration may direct parents how

to manage themselves, in reproving and commending their children. The rebukes and chiding, which their faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave, and unpassionate words, but also alone and in private: but the commendations children deserve, they should receive before others. This doubles the reward, by spreading their praise; but the backwardness parents show in divulging their faults, will make them set a greater value on their credit themselves, and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good opinion of others, whilst they think they have it: but when being exposed to shame, by publishing their miscarriages, they give it up for lost, that check upon them is taken off, and they will be the less careful to preserve others' good thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their reputation with them is already blemished.

63. But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of the common rewards and punishments, as we imagine, and as the general practice has established. For all their innocent folly, playing, and childish actions, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained, as far as they can consist with the respect due to those that are present; and that with the greatest allowance. If these faults of their age, rather than of the children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to time and imitation, and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless cor-

rection, which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood, and so by an ineffectual familiarity, makes correction in other necessary cases of less use ; or else if it be of force to restrain the natural gaiety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noise and bustle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the place or company they are in, (which can only be where their parents are,) a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove or quiet them for that time. But this gamesome humour, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper, should rather be encouraged to keep up their spirits, and improve their strength and health, than curbed and restrained ; and the chief art is to make all that they have to do, sport and play too.

## RULES.

64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education ; and that is, the charging of children's memories, upon all occasions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise, whenever they forget, or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again, until they are perfect ; whereby you will get these two advan-

tages: first, to see whether it be an action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them; for sometimes children are bid to do things, which upon trial they are found not able to do, and had need be taught and exercised in, before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a tutor to command than to teach. Secondly, another thing got by it will be this, that by repeating the same action, until it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood, but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a gentleman, when he salutes him, and looking in his face, when he speaks to him, is by constant use as natural to a well-bred man, as breathing; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child, any fault, it is cured for ever: and thus one by one you may weed them out all, and plant what habits you please.

65. I have seen parents so heap rules on their children, that it was impossible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of those multiplied, and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally followed, that the children minded not what was said to them, when it was evident to them that no attention they were capable of was sufficient to preserve them from transgression, and the rebukes which followed it.

Let therefore your rules to your son be as few as

possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. For if you burden him with many rules, one of these two things must necessarily follow; that either he must be very often punished, which will be of ill consequence, by making punishment too frequent and familiar; or else you must let the transgressions of some of your rules go unpunished, whereby they will of course grow contemptible, and your authority become cheap to him. Make but few laws, but see they be well observed when once made. Few years require but few laws, and as his age increases, when one rule is by practice well established, you may add another.

## HABITS.

66. But pray remember, children are not to be taught by rules which will be always slipping out of their memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice, as often as the occasion returns; and if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them, which being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the memory. But here let me give two cautions. 1. The one is, that you keep them to the practice of what you would have grow into a habit in them, by kind words, and gentle admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harsh rebukes and chiding, as if they were wilfully guilty. 2. Another thing you are to take

care of, is, not to endeavour to settle too many habits at once, lest by variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practise it without reflection, you may then go on to another.

This method of teaching children by repeated practice, and the same action done over and over again, under the eye and direction of the tutor, till they have got the habit of doing it well, and not by relying on rules trusted to their memories, has so many advantages, which way ever we consider it, that I cannot but wonder (if ill customs could be wondered at in any thing) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this method we shall see whether what is required of him be adapted to his capacity, and any way suited to the child's natural genius and constitution; for that too must be considered in a right education. We must not hope wholly to change their original tempers, nor make the gay pensive and grave, nor the melancholy sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamped certain characters upon men's minds, which, like their shapes, may perhaps be a little mended, but can hardly be totally altered and transformed into the contrary.

He therefore that is about children should well study their natures and aptitudes, and see by often trials, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native stock is, how it

may be improved, and what it is fit for.<sup>(28)</sup> He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by industry, and incorporated there by practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is, to make the best of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural genius should be carried as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labour in vain; and what is so plastered on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.

Affectation is not, I confess, an early fault of childhood, or the product of untaught nature. It is of that sort of weeds which grow not in the wild uncultivated waste, but in garden plots, under the negligent hand, or unskilful care of a gardener. Management and instruction, and some sense of the necessity of breeding, are requisite to make any one capable of affectation, which endeavours to correct natural defects, and has always the laudable aim of pleasing, though it always misses it; and the more it labours to put on gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this reason, it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is

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(<sup>28</sup>) This is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in large schools; which may have been one of Locke's reasons for preferring a domestic education.

the proper fault of education ; a perverted education indeed, but such as young people often fall into, either by their own mistake, or the ill conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that gracefulness lies, which always pleases, will find it arises from that natural coherence, which appears between the thing done, and such a temper of mind as cannot but be approved of as suitable to the occasion. We cannot but be pleased with a humane, friendly, civil temper, wherever we meet with it. A mind free, and master of itself and all its actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and insolent, not blemished with any great defect, is what every one is taken with. The actions which naturally flow from such a well-formed mind, please us also, as the genuine marks of it ; and being as it were natural emanations from the spirit and disposition within, cannot but be easy and unconstrained. This seems to me to be that beauty which shines through some men's actions, sets off all that they do, and takes all they come near ; when by a constant practice, they have fashioned their carriage, and made all those little expressions of civility and respect, which nature or custom has established in conversation, so easy to themselves, that they seem not artificial or studied, but naturally to flow from a sweetness of mind, and a well-turned disposition.<sup>(29)</sup>

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<sup>(29)</sup> The theory of an easy and graceful behaviour, both here and everywhere throughout the work, recommended by Locke, is

On the other side, affectation is an awkward and forced imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the beauty that accompanies what is natural; because there is always a disagreement between the outward action, and the mind within, one of these two ways: 1. Either when a man would outwardly put on a disposition of mind, which he really has not, but endeavours by a forced carriage to make show of; yet so, that the constraint he is under discovers itself. And thus men affect sometimes to appear sad, merry, or kind, when in truth they are not so.

2. The other is when they do not endeavour to make show of dispositions of mind, which they have not, but to express those they have by a carriage not suited to them: and such in conversation are all constrained motions, actions, words, or looks, which, though designed to show either their respect or civility to the company, or their satisfaction and easiness in it, are not yet natural

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most completely unfolded in the discourse of Isocrates to Demonicus, where every precept is found that can be needed by a diligent and high-minded student of the world. In its tone it has all that loftiness and nobility of breeding which distinguish the republican gentleman from the supple subject of a monarchy; which, could they be placed in juxtaposition, would mark the difference between a disciple of Isocrates and a disciple of Lord Chesterfield. This latter able and judicious, though somewhat lax writer, urges upon his son the absolute necessity of elegant ease of manner: "Prepare yourself," says he, "for the great world, as the *athletæ* used to do for their exercises; oil (if I may use that expression) your mind, and your manners, to give them the necessary suppleness and flexibility: strength alone will not do, as young people are too apt to think."

or genuine marks of the one or the other, but rather of some defect or mistake within. Imitation of others, without discerning what is graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their characters, often makes a great part of this. But affectation of all kinds, whencesoever it proceeds, is always offensive : because we naturally hate whatever is counterfeit, and condemn those who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.<sup>(30)</sup>

Plain and rough nature, left to itself, is much better than an artificial ungracefulness, and such studied ways of being ill-fashioned. The want of an accomplishment, or some defect in our behaviour, coming short of the utmost gracefulness, often escapes observation and censure. But affectation in any part of our carriage is lighting up a candle to our defects, and never fails to make us be taken notice of, either as wanting sense, or wanting sincerity. This governors ought the more diligently to look after, because, as I above observed, it is an acquired ugliness, owing to mistaken education, few being guilty of it, but those who pretend to breeding, and would not be thought ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in conversation ; and, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy admonitions of those who give rules, and propose examples, without joining practice with their instructions, and making their pupils

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<sup>(30)</sup> On this subject I may recommend to the reader the whole of Hume's section "On Qualities immediately agreeable to others." (*Essays*, 4to. p. 454, seq.)

repeat the action in their sight, that they may correct what is indecent or constrained in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming easiness.

## MANNERS—DANCING.

67. Manners, as they call it, about which children are so often perplexed, and have so many goodly exhortations made them by their wise maids and governesses, I think, are rather to be learnt by example than rules; and then children, if kept out of ill company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteemed and commended for it. But if by a little negligence in this part, the boy should not pull off his hat, or make legs very gracefully, a dancing-master will cure that defect, and wipe off all that plainness of nature, which the à-la-mode people call clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give children so much becoming confidence and behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age, as dancing, I think they should be taught to dance as soon as they are capable of learning it. For though this consists only in outward gracefulness of motion, yet, I know not how, it gives children manly thoughts and carriage, more than any thing. <sup>(31)</sup> But otherwise I would not have little

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<sup>(31)</sup> The ancient poets and philosophers not only recommended dancing to their youthful pupils, but danced themselves. It is particularly related of Sophocles, that having, in his early years, learned music and dancing, he was so much addicted to "sport the toe," that, in his joy for the victory of Salamis, he

children much tormented above punctilios, or niceties of breeding.

Never trouble yourself above those faults in them, which you know age will cure: and therefore want of well fashioned civility in the carriage, whilst civility is not wanting in the mind, (for there you must take care to plant it early,) should be the parents' least care, whilst they are young. If his tender mind be filled with a veneration for his parents and teachers, which consists in love and esteem, and a fear to offend them; and with respect and goodwill to all people; that respect will of itself teach those ways of expressing it, which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the principles of good nature and kindness; make them as habitual as you can, by credit and commendation, and the good things accompanying that state: and when they have taken root in his mind, and are settled there by a continued practice, fear not, the ornaments of conversation, and the outside of fashionable manners, will come in their

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danced in the garb generally attributed to the Graces, round the trophy erected by his countrymen. Others, however, contend, that he did not throw aside his garments. Mr. Yates, in his work on dancing, is careful to introduce the name of Socrates, who, as Athenæus informs us, was partial to the dance called Memphis, and was often surprised by his friends enjoying a *pas seul*. An anecdote illustrative of the importance which the ancients attached to this accomplishment is also related by Athenæus: Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, observing the Athenian, Hippoclides, who aspired to his daughter's hand, dance ungracefully, remarked to those about him that Hippoclides had danced away his marriage.

due time ; if when they are removed out of their maid's care, they are put into the hands of a well-bred man to be their governor.

Whilst they are very young, any carelessness is to be borne with in children, that carries not with it the marks of pride or illnature ; but those, whenever they appear in any action, are to be corrected immediately by the ways above-mentioned. What I have said concerning manners, I would not have so understood, as if I meant that those who have the judgment to do it, should not gently fashion the motions and carriage of children, when they are very young. It would be of great advantage, if they had people about them from their being first able to go, that had the skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is, the wrong course that is usually taken in this matter. Children, who were never taught any such thing as behaviour, are often (especially when strangers are present) chid for having some way or other failed in good manners, and have thereupon reproofs and precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their hats, or making of legs, &c. Though in this, those concerned pretend to correct the child, yet, in truth for the most part, it is but to cover their own shame, and they lay the blame on the poor little ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves, for fear the by-standers should impute to their want of care and skill the child's ill behaviour. <sup>(32)</sup>

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(<sup>32</sup>) This is a just reproof of the practice of too many parents,

For, as for the children themselves, they are never one jot bettered by such occasional lectures. They at other times should be shown what to do, and by reiterated actions be fashioned beforehand into the practice of what is fit and becoming, and not told and talked to do upon the spot, of what they have never been accustomed or know how to do as they should. To hare and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex and torment them to no purpose. They should be let alone, rather than chide for a fault, which is none of theirs, nor is in their power to mend for speaking to. And it were much better their natural childish negligence or plainness should be left to the care of riper years, than that they should frequently have rebukes misplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can give them graceful motions. If their minds are well-disposed, and principled with inward civility, a great part of the roughness, which sticks to the outside for want of better teaching, time and observation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good company; but if in ill, all the rules in the world, all the correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain truth, that let them have what instructions you will, and ever so learned lectures of breeding daily inculcated into them, that

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who choose for the correction of their children precisely those moments in which few provocations should tempt them to put forward their authority. Besides, as Locke properly observes, precepts given thus occasionally and in ill-temper are seldom of use.

which will most influence their carriage, will be the company they converse with, <sup>(33)</sup> and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and men too) do most by example. We are all a sort of chame-lions, that still take a tincture from things near us; nor is it to be wondered at in children, who better understand what they see, than what they hear.

## COMPANY.

68. I mentioned above, one great mischief that came by servants to children, when by their flatteries they take off the edge and force of the parents' rebukes, and so lessen their authority: and here is another great inconvenience which children receive from the ill examples which they meet with amongst the meaner servants.

They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such conversation; for the contagion of these ill precedents, both in civility and virtue, horribly infects children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbred or debauched servants such language, untowardly tricks, and vices, as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their lives.

69. It is a hard matter wholly to prevent this mischief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a clownish or vicious servant, and if from them your children never get any infection: but yet as much must be done towards it as can be,

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(33) See *Isocrat. ad Demoniac.* §. c'.

and the children kept as much as may be <sup>(34)</sup> in the company of their parents, and those to whose care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made easy to them: they should be allowed the liberties and freedoms suitable to their ages, and not be held under unnecessary restraints, when in their parents' or governor's sight. If it be a prison to them, it is no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hindered from being children, or from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill; all other liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the company of their parents, they should receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The servants should be hindered from making court to them, by giving them strong drink, wine, fruit, play-things, and other such matters, which may make them in love with their conversation.

70. Having named company, I am almost ready to throw away my pen, and trouble you no farther on this subject: for since that does more than all precepts, rules and instructions, methinks it is almost wholly in vain to make a long discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, What shall I

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(34) How much the Romans thought the education of their children a business that properly belonged to the parents themselves; see in Suetonius, August. §. 64.—Plutarch in vita Catonis Censoris, Diodorus Siculus, l. ii. cap. 3.—(*Locke.*)

do with my son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young master; and if I send him abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of rudeness and vice, which is everywhere so in fashion? In my house he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world; wanting there change of company, and being used constantly to the same faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited creature.

I confess, both sides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, it is true, will make him bolder, and better able to bustle and shift among boys of his own age; and the emulation of schoolfellows often puts life and industry into young lads. But till you can find a school, wherein it is possible for the master to look after the manners of his scholars, and can show as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue, and their carriage to good breeding, as of forming their tongues to the learned languages, you must confess, that you have a strange value for words, when preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to that which made them such brave men, <sup>(35)</sup> you think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that boldness and spirit which lads get amongst their play-

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<sup>(35)</sup> For some remarks upon this question the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, where I have shown that, in the best ages of the republic, the Athenians sent their children to public schools.

fellows at school, it has ordinarily such a mixture of rudeness and ill-turned confidence, that those misbecoming and disingenuous ways of shifting in the world must be unlearned, and all the tincture washed out again, to make way for better principles, and such manners as make a truly worthy man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the skill of living well, and managing, as a man should do, his affairs in the world, is to that malpertness, tricking, or violence learned amongst school-boys, will think the faults of a more private education infinitely to be preferred to such improvements, and will take care to preserve his child's innocence and modesty at home, as being nearer of kin, and more in the way of those qualities which make a useful and able man. Nor does any one find, or so much as suspect, that that retirement and bashfulness, which their daughters are brought up in, makes them less knowing, or less able women. Conversation, when they come into the world, soon gives them a becoming assurance; and whatsoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous, may in men be very well spared too; for courage and steadiness, as I take it, lie not in roughness and ill-breeding.

Virtue is harder to be got, than a knowledge of the world; and if lost in a young man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the necessary consequences of being bred at home, nor if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the most stubborn, as well as the most dan-

gerous evil of the two ; and therefore, in the first place, to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like fondlings at home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for virtue's sake ; for fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious impressions, and expose the novice too easily to be corrupted. A young man, before he leaves the shelter of his father's house, and the guard of a tutor, should be fortified with resolution, and made acquainted with men, to secure his virtues, lest he should be let into some ruinous course, or fatal precipice, before he is sufficiently acquainted with the danger of conversation, and has steadiness enough not to yield to every temptation. Were it not for this, a young man's bashfulness and ignorance in the world, would not so much need an early care. Conversation would cure it in a great measure ; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a stronger reason for a good tutor at home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his virtue, when he goes into the world under his own conduct.

It is preposterous therefore to sacrifice his innocence to the attaining of confidence, and some little skill of bustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys ; when the chief use of that sturdiness, and standing upon his own legs, is only for the preservation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice, and support his miscarriages,

he is only the surer lost; and you must undo again, and strip him of that he has got from his companions, or give him up to ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by conversation with men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modesty and submission, till then, better fits them for instruction; (<sup>36</sup>) and therefore there needs not any great care to stock them with confidence beforehand. That which requires most time, pains, and assiduity, is, to work into them the principles and practice of virtue and good breeding. This is the seasoning they should be prepared with, so as not easy to be got out again. This they had need to be well provided with; for conversation, when they come into the world, will add to their knowledge and assurance, but be too apt to take from their virtue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully stored with, and have that tincture sunk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for conversation, and entered into the world, when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap, or rook at

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(<sup>36</sup>) Nowhere is this modesty and ingenuous bashfulness of youth more beautifully portrayed than in the *Lysis* and *Charmides* of Plato, where the noblest and most gifted young men are represented mute and blushing in the presence of their elders; a circumstance which tells greatly in favour of Athenian education. Xenophon, and other Laconizers, have held up to admiration the institutions of Lycurgus, which, excellent in many respects, yet for all the nobler ends of education fell far short of those of their own country.

span-farthing, fits him for civil conversation or business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of play-fellows as schools usually assemble together from parents of all kinds, that a father should so much covet, is hard to divine. I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor at home, may there give his son a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a man, than any at school can do. Not that I blame the schoolmaster in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils in the same house, and three or four score boys lodged up and down: for let the master's industry and skill be never so great, is it impossible he should have fifty or an hundred scholars under his eye, any longer than they are in the school together: nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them successfully in any thing but their books; the forming of their minds and manners requiring a constant attention, and particular application to every single boy, which is impossible in a numerous flock, and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to study and correct every one's particular defects, and wrong inclinations) when the lad was to be left to himself, or the prevailing infection of his fellows, the greatest part of the four-and-twenty hours.

But fathers observing, that fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bustling men, are

glad to see their sons pert and forward betimes ; take it for a happy omen, that they will be thriving men, and look on the tricks they play their schoolfellows, or learn from them, as a proficiency in the art of living, and making their way through the world. But I must take the liberty to say, that he that lays the foundation of his son's fortune in virtue and good breeding, takes the only sure and warrantable way. And it is not the waggeries or cheats practised amongst school-boys, it is not their roughness one to another ; or the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together, that make an able man ; but the principles of justice, generosity, and sobriety, joined with observation and industry, qualities which I judge school-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at school, his father has made a very ill choice of a tutor. Take a boy from the top of a grammar-school, and one of the same age bred as he should be in his father's family, and bring them into good company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly carriage, and address himself with the more becoming assurance to strangers. Here I imagine the school-boy's confidence will either fail or discredit him ; and if it be such as fits him only for the conversation of boys, he were better to be without it.

Vice, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to seed so early in young people, that it is impossible to keep a lad from the spreading contagion, if you will

venture him abroad in the herd, and trust to chance or his own inclination for the choice of his company at school. By what fate vice hath so thriven amongst us these years past,<sup>(37)</sup> and by what hands it has been nursed up into so uncontrolled a dominion, I shall leave to others to inquire. I wish that those who complain of the great decay of Christian piety and virtue everywhere, and of learning and of acquired improvements in the gentry of this generation, would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, that if the foundation of it be not laid in the education and principling of the youth, all other endeavours will be in vain. And if the innocence, sobriety, and industry of those who are coming up, be not taken care of, and preserved, it will be ridiculous to expect, that those who are to succeed next on the

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(37) This has been the cry in all ages. Virtue, like a mist, seems to be never where we are, but hangs thick before and behind us. Perhaps, did we deeply investigate the matter, the reign of vice might appear to have been always more widely extended than that of virtue; though it cannot be denied that, owing to the greater influence of democratic principles, and the more rigid enforcement of those penalties awarded by the laws, morals, and manners, in the republics of ancient Greece, were far more pure and high-toned than among modern nations, where the governments, owing much of their support to vice, cannot be other than unfavourable to virtue. The Puritans, in their best times, might perhaps have borne some comparison with the virtuous citizens of antiquity. As a nation, however, we are doubtless more virtuous at present, than at any former period; and as freedom and knowledge are more widely diffused, the tone of our morals will be raised. Ignorant persons are never virtuous, though they may be harmless.

stage, should abound in that virtue, ability, and learning, which has hitherto made England considerable in the world. I was going to add courage too, though it has been looked on as the natural inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late actions at sea, of a kind unknown to our ancestors,<sup>(35)</sup> gives me occasion to say, that debauchery sinks the courage of men; and when dissoluteness has eaten out the sense of true honour, bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an instance of any nation, however renowned for their valour, whoever kept their credit in arms, or made themselves redoubtable amongst their neighbours, after corruption had once broken through and dissolved the restraint of discipline, and vice was grown to such a head, that it durst show itself barefaced, without being out of countenance.

It is virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forward pertness, or any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good which tutors

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<sup>(35)</sup> Unknown, indeed ! particularly when the flag of the Commonwealth swept the seas, carrying terror and victory over half the world. Old Noll at least understood how to render his country respectable in the eyes of strangers. No Dutch fleets then insulted us in the Medway, or threatened to burn our capital. This piece of national glory was reserved for the reign of a Stuart.

should not only read lectures, and talk of, but the labour and art of education should furnish the mind with, fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it, and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for all other accomplishments in their turns; for he that is brought to submit to virtue, will not be refractory, or resty, in any thing that becomes him; and therefore I cannot but prefer breeding of a young gentleman at home in his father's sight, under a good governor, as much the best and safest way to this great and main end of education, when it can be had, and is ordered as it should be. Gentlemen's houses are seldom without variety of company: they should use their sons to all the strange faces that come there, and engage them in conversation with men of parts and breeding, as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the country should not take them with them, when they make visits of civility to their neighbours, I know not. This I am sure, a father that breeds his son at home, has the opportunity to have him more in his own company, and there give him what encouragement he thinks fit, and can keep him better from the taint of servants, and the meaner sort of people, than is possible to be done abroad. But what shall be resolved in the case, must in great measure be left to the parents, to be determined by their circumstances and conveniences; only I think it the worst sort of good hus-

bandry, for a father not to strain himself a little for his son's breeding ; which, let his condition be what it will, is the best portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some, that the breeding at home has too little company, and that at ordinary schools, not such as it should be for a young gentleman, I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniences on the one side and the other.

## EXAMPLE.

71. Having under consideration how great the influence of company is, and how prone we are all, especially children, to imitation; I must here take the liberty to mind parents of this one thing, viz. That he that will have his son have a respect for him, and his orders, must himself have a great reverence for his son. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.* You must do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing escape you, which you would have pass for a fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your example, and shelter himself so as that it will not be easy to come at him, to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you practise yourself, he will not think that severity to proceed from kindness in you, careful to amend a fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it, the peevishness and arbitrary imperiousness of a father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his son the liberty and pleasures he takes himself.

Or if you assume to yourself the liberty you have taken, as a privilege belonging to riper years to which a child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your example, and recommend the action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember, that children affect to be men earlier than is thought; and they love breeches, not for their cut or ease, but because the having them is a mark or step towards manhood. What I say of the father's carriage before his children, must extend itself to all those who have any authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any respect.

#### PUNISHMENT.

72. But to return to the business of rewards and punishments. All the actions of childishness, and unfashionable carriage, and whatever time and age will of itself be sure to reform, being (as I have said) exempt from the discipline of the rod, there will not be so much need of beating children, as is generally made use of. To which, if we add learning to read, write, dance, foreign language, &c. as under the same privilege, there will be but very rarely an occasion for blows or force in an ingenuous education. The right way to teach them those things, is to give them a liking and inclination to what you propose to them to be learned, and that will engage their industry and application. This I think no hard matter to do, if children be handled as they should be, and the rewards and

punishments above mentioned be carefully applied, and with them these few rules observed in the method of instructing them.

73. 1. None of the things they are to learn, should ever be made a burden to them, or imposed on them as a task. Whatever is so proposed, presently becomes irksome; the mind takes an aversion to it, though before it were a thing of delight or indifference. Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a duty, wherein he must spend so many hours morning and afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any play at this rate. Is it not so with grown men? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a duty? Children have as much a mind to show that they are free, that their own good actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown men, think of them as you please.

74. 2. As a consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those things you have got an inclination in them to, but when they have a mind and disposition to it. He that loves reading, writing, music, &c. finds yet in himself certain seasons wherein those things have no relish to him; and, if at that time he forces himself to it, he only bothers and wearies himself to no purpose.

So it is with children. This change of temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favourable seasons of aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of: and if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good disposition should be talked into them, before they be set upon any thing. This I think no hard matter for a discreet tutor to do, who has studied his pupil's temper, and will be at a little pains to fill his head with suitable ideas, such as may make him in love with the present business. By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be saved; for a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the time and pains when he goes awkwardly, or is dragged unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, children might be permitted to weary themselves with play, and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age. But no such thing is considered in the ordinary way of education, nor can it well be. The rough discipline of the rod is built upon other principles, has no attraction in it, regards not what humour children are in, nor looks after favourable seasons of inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when compulsion and blows have raised an aversion in the child to his task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his play, and with pleasure court the occasions of learning. Whereas, were matters ordered right, learning any thing they should be taught, might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to

their learning. The pains are equal on both sides. Nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be busy, and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is, in that which we call play, they act at liberty, and employ their pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely ; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them ; they are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that, that at first entrance balks and cools them ; they want their liberty. Get them but to ask their tutor to teach them, as they do often their play-fellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn, and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do in other things, they will go on with as much pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other sports and play. By these ways carefully pursued, a child may be brought to desire to be taught any thing, you have a mind he should learn. The hardest part, I confess, is with the first or eldest ; but when once he is set right, it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will.

75. Though it be past doubt, that the fittest time for children to learn any thing, is, when their minds are in tune, and well disposed to it : when neither flagging of spirit, nor intenseness of thought upon something else, makes them awkward and averse ; yet two things are to be taken care of. 1. That these seasons either not being warily observed, and laid hold on, as often as they return, or else, not returning as often as they should, the

improvement of the child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into an habitual idleness, and confirmed in this indisposition. 2. That though other things are ill learned, when the mind is either indisposed, or otherwise taken up, yet it is of great moment, and worth our endeavours, to teach the mind to get the mastery over itself, and to be able upon choice, to take itself off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set itself upon another with facility and delight, or at any time to shake off its sluggishness, and vigorously employ itself about what reason, or the advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in children by trying them sometimes, when they are by laziness unbent, or by avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the thing proposed. If by this means the mind can get an habitual dominion over itself, lay by ideas or business as occasion requires, and betake itself to new and less acceptable employments, without reluctance or discomposure, it will be an advantage of more consequence than Latin or logic, or most of those things children are usually required to learn.

## COMPULSION.

76. Children being more active and busy in that age, than in any other part of their life, and being indifferent to any thing they can do, so they may be but doing, dancing and Scotch-hoppers would be the same thing to them, were the encouragements and discouragements equal. But to

things we would have them learn, the great and only discouragement I can observe, is, that they are called to it, it is made their business, they are teased and chid about it, and do it with trembling and apprehension; or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired: all which intrenches too much on that natural freedom they extremely affect. And it is that liberty alone which gives the true relish and delight to their ordinary play-games. Turn the tables, and you will find they will soon change their application; especially if they see the examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the things which they observe others to do, be ordered so, that they insinuate themselves into them, as the privilege of an age or condition above theirs; then ambition, and the desire still to get forward and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with vigour and pleasure; pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire, in which way the enjoyment of their dearly-beloved freedom will be no small encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the satisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think there will need no other spur to excite their application and assiduity, as much is as necessary. I confess, there needs patience and skill, gentleness and attention, and a prudent conduct to attain this at first. But why have you a tutor, if there needed no pains? But when this is once established, all the rest will fol-

low, more easily than in any more severe and imperious discipline. And I think it no hard matter to gain this point; I am sure it will not be where children have no ill examples set before them. The great danger therefore, I apprehend, is only from servants, and other ill-ordered children, or such other vicious or foolish people, who spoil children both by the ill pattern they set before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them together the two things they should never have at once; I mean vicious pleasures and commendation.

## CHIDING.

77. As children should very seldom be corrected by blows, so I think frequent, and especially passionate chiding of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the authority of the parents, and the respect of the child; for I bid you still remember, they distinguish early betwixt passion and reason: and as they cannot but have a reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a contempt of the former; or if it causes a present terror, yet it soon wears off, and natural inclination will easily learn to slight such scare-crows which make a noise, but are not animated by reason. Children being to be restrained by their parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a look or nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss; or if words are sometimes to be used, they ought to be grave, kind, and sober, representing the ill or unbecomingness of the

faults, rather than a hasty rating of the child for it; which makes him not sufficiently distinguish, whether your dislike be not more directed to him, than his fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill language with it, which has this farther ill effect, that it teaches and justifies it in children: and the names that their parents or preceptors give them, they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good authority for the use of them.

#### OBSTINACY.

78. I foresee here it will be objected to me, what then, will you have children never beaten nor chid for any fault? This will be to let loose the reins to all kind of disorder. Not so much as is imagined, if a right course has been taken in the first seasoning of their mind, and implanting that awe of their parents above mentioned. For beating, by constant observation, is found to do little good, where the smart of it is all the punishment is feared or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it: but yet there is one, and but one fault, for which, I think, children should be beaten, and that is, obstinacy or rebellion. And in this too, I would have it ordered so, if it can be, that the shame of the whipping, and not the pain, should be the greatest part of the punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deserving chastisement, is the only true restraint belonging to virtue. The smart of the rod, if shame accompanies it not, soon ceases and is forgotten, and will quickly by use lose its

terror. I have known the children of a person of quality kept in awe by the fear of having their shoes pulled off, as much as others by apprehensions, of a rod hanging over them. Some such punishment I think better than beating; for it is shame of the fault, and the disgrace that attends it, that they should stand in fear of, rather than pain, if you would have them have a temper truly ingenuous. But stubbornness, and an obstinate disobedience, must be mastered with force and blows; for this there is no other remedy. Whatever particular action you bid him do, or forbear, you must be sure to see yourself obeyed; no quarter in this case; no resistance; for when once it comes to be a trial of skill, a contest for mastery betwixt you, as it is if you command, and he refuses, you must be sure to carry it, whatever blows it costs, if a nod or words will not prevail; unless, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your son. A prudent and kind mother of my acquaintance, was, on such an occasion, forced to whip her little daughter, at her first coming home from nurse, eight times successively the same morning, before she could master her stubbornness, <sup>(39)</sup> and obtain a compliance

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<sup>(39)</sup> Children nursed from home are generally obstinate on their return, even though they were otherwise with their nurse. To them their parents are strangers, and for some time appear in the light of usurpers, the nurse, in their estimation, being the legitimate authority. This is particularly observable in France, where so many children spend their early infancy under the roofs of strangers; though afterwards parents and children live on terms of much greater familiarity and equality than among ourselves, and *tutoie* each other like ordinary companions.

in a very easy and indifferent matter. If she had left off sooner, and stopped at the seventh whipping, she had spoiled the child for ever, and, by her unprevailing blows, only confirmed her refractoriness, very hardly afterwards to be cured: but wisely persisting till she had bent her mind, and supplanted her will, the only end of correction and chastisement, she established her authority thoroughly in the very first occasions, and had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter; for as this was the first time, so I think it was the last too she ever struck her.

The pain of the rod, the first occasion that requires it, continued and increased, without leaving off till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend the mind, and settle the parent's authority; and then gravity, mixed with kindness, should for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make people more wary in the use of the rod and the cudgel, and keep them from being so apt to think beating the safe and universal remedy to be applied at random on all occasions. This is certain, however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the mind, and makes not the will supple, it hardens the offender; and whatever pain he has suffered for it, it does but endear him to his beloved stubbornness, which has got him this time the victory, and prepares him to contest, and hope for it for the future. Thus I doubt not, but by ill-ordered correction, many have been taught to be obstinate and refractory, who otherwise would have

been very pliant and tractable. For if you punish a child so, as if it were only to revenge the past fault, which has raised your choler, what operation can this have upon his mind, which is the part to be amended? If there were no sturdy humour, or wilfulness, mixed with his fault, there was nothing in it that required the severity of blows. A kind or grave admonition is enough to remedy the slips of frailty, forgetfulness, or inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of. But if there were a perverseness in the will, if it were a designed, resolved disobedience, the punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries, and stands in, to that respect and submission which is due to the father's orders; which must always be rigorously exacted, and the blows by pauses laid on, till they reach the mind, and you perceive the signs of a true sorrow, shame, and purpose of obedience.

This, I confess, requires something more than setting children a task, and whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our fancy. This requires care, attention, observation, and a nice study of children's tempers, and weighing their faults well, before we come to this sort of punishment. But is not that better, than always to have the rod in hand, as the only instrument of government? And by frequent use of it on all occasions, misapply and render inefficacious this last and useful remedy, where there is no need of it. For what else can be expected, when it is promiscu-

ously used upon every little slip? When a mistake in concordance, or a wrong position in verse, shall have the severity of the lash, in a well-tempered and industrious lad, as surely as a wilful crime in an obstinate and perverse offender, how can such a way of correction be expected to do good on the mind, and set that right? which is the only thing to be looked after; and when set right, brings all the rest that you can desire along with it.

79. Where a wrong bent of the will wants not amendment, there can be no need of blows. All other faults, where the mind is rightly disposed, and refuses not the government and authority of the father or tutor, are but mistakes, and may often be overlooked; or when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle remedies of advice, direction, and reproof, till the repeated and wilful neglect of those, shows the fault to be in the mind, and that a manifest perverseness of the will lies at the root of their disobedience. But whenever obstinacy, which is an open defiance, appears, that cannot be winked at, or neglected, but must, in the first instance, be subdued and mastered; only care must be had, that we mistake not, and we must be sure it is obstinacy, and nothing else.

80. But since the occasions of punishment, especially beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought to this point. If the awe I spoke of be once got, a look will be sufficient in most cases. Nor indeed should the same carriage, seriousness, or application be expected from young children, as from those of

riper growth. They must be permitted, as I said, the foolish and childish actions suitable to their years, without taking notice of them. Inadvertency, carelessness, and gaiety, is the character of that age. I think the severity I spoke of is not to extend itself to such unseasonable restraints. Nor is that hastily to be interpreted obstinacy or wilfulness, which is the natural product of their age or temper. In such miscarriages they are to be assisted, and helped towards an amendment, as weak people under a natural infirmity; which, though they are warned of, yet every relapse must not be counted a perfect neglect, and they presently treated as obstinate. Faults of frailty, as they should never be neglected, or let pass without minding, so, unless the will mix with them, they should never be exaggerated, or very sharply reprov'd; but with a gentle hand set right, as time and age permit. By this means, children will come to see what it is in any miscarriage that is chiefly offensive, and so learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their wills right; which is the great business, when they find that it preserves them from any great displeasure, and that in all their other failings they meet with the kind concern and help, rather than the anger and passionate reproaches of their tutor and parents. Keep them from vice and vicious dispositions, and such a kind of behaviour in general will come with every degree of their age, as is suitable to that age, and the company they ordinarily converse with; and as they grow in years, they will grow in attention and applica-

tion. But that your words may always carry weight and authority with them, if it shall happen, upon any occasion, that you bid him leave off the doing of any even childish things, you must be sure to carry the point, and not let him have the mastery. But yet, I say, I would have the father seldom interpose his authority and command in these cases, or in any other, but such as have a tendency to vicious habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them; and a gentle persuasion in reasoning, (when the first point of submission to your will is got,) will most times do much better.

#### REASONING.

81. It will perhaps be wondered, that I mention reasoning with children: and yet I cannot but think that the true way of dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do language; and, if I mis-observe not, they love to be treated as rational creatures, sooner than is imagined. It is a pride should be cherished in them, and, as much as can be, made the greatest instrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of reasoning, I do not intend any other, but such as is suited to the child's capacity and apprehension. Nobody can think a boy of three or seven years old should be argued with, as a grown man. Long discourses, and philosophical reasonings, at best, amaze and confound, but do not instruct children. When I say, therefore, that they must be treated as rational creatures, I mean, that you should make them sensible, by

the mildness of your carriage, and the composure even in your correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them; and that it is not out of caprice, passion or fancy, that you command or forbid them any thing. This they are capable of understanding; and there is no virtue they should be excited to, nor fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of; but it must be such reasons as their age and understanding are capable of, and those proposed always in very few and plain words. The foundations on which several duties are built, and the fountains of right and wrong from which they spring, are not perhaps easily to be let into the minds of grown men, not used to abstract their thoughts from common received opinions. Much less are children capable of reasoning from remote principles. They cannot conceive the force of long deductions. The reasons that move them, must be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt, and touched. But yet, if their age, temper, and inclination be considered, there will never want such motives, as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any fault, fit to be taken notice of in them, viz. That it will be a discredit and disgrace to them, and displease you.

## EXAMPLES.

82. But of all the ways whereby children are to be instructed, and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is, to set before their eyes the examples, of those things you would have them do, or avoid ; which, when they are pointed out to them, in the practice of persons within their knowledge, with some reflections on their beauty and unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation, than any discourses which can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be so plainly set before their understandings, as the actions of other men will show them, when you direct their observation, and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice. And the beauty or uncomeliness of many things, in good and ill breeding, will be better learned, and make deeper impressions on them, in the examples of others, than from any rules or instructions can be given about them.

This is a method to be used, not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's tuition or conduct ; nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a father, as long as he should think fit, on any occasion, to reform any thing he wishes mended in his son ; nothing sinking so gently, and so deep, into men's minds, as example. And what ill they either overlook or indulge in themselves,

they cannot but dislike, and be ashamed of, when it is set before them in another.

### WHIPPING.

83. It may be doubted, concerning whipping, when, as the last remedy, it comes to be necessary, at what times, and by whom it should be done; whether presently upon committing the fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; and whether parents themselves should beat their children. As to the first, I think it should not be done presently, lest passion mingle with it; and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it lose of its due weight: for even children discern when we do things in passion. But, as I said before, that has most weight with them, that appears sedately to come from their parent's reason; and they are not without this distinction. Next, if you have any discreet servant capable of it, and has the place of governing your child, (for if you have a tutor, there is no doubt,) I think it is best the smart should come more immediately from another's hand, though by the parent's order, who should see it done; whereby the parent's authority will be preserved, and the child's aversion, for the pain it suffers, rather be turned on the person that immediately inflicts. For I would have a father seldom strike his child, but upon very urgent necessity, and as the last remedy; and then perhaps it will be fit to do it so that the child should not quickly forget it.

84. But, as I said before, beating is the worst, and therefore, the last means to be used in the

correction of children, and that only in cases of extremity, after all gentler ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful; which, if well observed, there will be very seldom any need of blows. For, it not being to be imagined that a child will often, if ever, dispute his father's present command in any particular instance; and the father not interposing his absolute authority, in peremptory rules, concerning either childish or indifferent actions, wherein his son is to have his liberty, or concerning his learning or improvement, wherein there is no compulsion to be used: there remains only the prohibition of some vicious actions, wherein a child is capable of obstinacy, and consequently can deserve beating; and so there will but be very few occasions of that discipline to be used by any one, who considers well, and orders his child's education as it should be. For the first seven years, what vices can a child be guilty of, but lying, or some ill-natured tricks; the repeated commission whereof, after his father's direct command against it, shall bring him into the condemnation of obstinacy, and the chastisement of the rod? If any vicious inclination in him be, in the first appearance and instances of it, treated as it should be, first with your wonder, and then, if returning again, a second time discountenanced with the severe brow of a father, tutor, and all about him, and a treatment suitable to the state of discredit before mentioned; and this continued till he be made sensible and ashamed of his fault, I imagine there will be no need of any other correction, nor ever any occasion to come to blows. The necessity of such

chastisement is usually the consequence only of former indulgences or neglects : if vicious inclinations were watched from the beginning, and the first irregularities, which they cause, corrected by those gentler ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one disorder at once ; which would be easily set right, without any stir or noise, and not require so harsh a discipline as beating. Thus one by one, as they appeared, they might all be weeded out, without any signs or memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their faults (by indulging and humouring our little ones) grow up, till they are sturdy and numerous, and the deformity of them makes us ashamed, and uneasy, we are fain to come to the plough and the harrow ; the spade and the pick-axe, must go deep to come at the roots ; and all the force, skill, and diligence we can use, is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated seed-plot, overgrown with weeds, and restore us the hopes of fruits, to reward our pains in its season.

85. This course, if observed, will spare both father and child the trouble of repeated injunctions, and multiplied rules of doing and forbearing. For I am of opinion, that of those actions which tend to vicious habits, (which are those alone that a father should interpose his authority and commands in,) none should be forbidden children till they are found guilty of them. For such untimely prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them, that they suppose that children may be guilty of them,

who would possibly be safer in the ignorance of any such faults. And the best remedy to stop them, is, as I have said, to show wonder and amazement at any such action as hath a vicious tendency, when it is first taken notice of in a child. For example, when he is first found in a lie, or any ill-natured trick, the first remedy should be, to talk to him of it as a strange monstrous matter, that it could not be imagined he would have done, and so shame him out of it.

86. It will be (it is like) objected, that whatsoever I fancy of the tractableness of children, and the prevalency of those softer ways of shame and commendation ; yet there are many who will never apply themselves to their books, and to what they ought to learn, unless they are scourged to it. This, I fear, is nothing but the language of ordinary schools and fashion, which have never suffered the other to be tried as it should be, in places where it could be taken notice of. Why else does the learning of Latin and Greek need the rod, when French and Italian need it not ? <sup>(40)</sup> Children learn to

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<sup>(40)</sup> French, Italian, and arithmetic, if attempted to be taught at the same age with Greek and Latin, would call for equal severity, and, with many lads, more. Some boys, indeed, exhibit an aptitude almost mechanical for arithmetic ; but, in general, it is not a favourite study. With respect to the modern languages, the nature of the works made use of in teaching must be taken at least as much into account as the character of the several idioms ; romances, memoirs, books of travels. In teaching the learned languages no respect is had to this consideration ; and, in fact, the ancient literatures being but fragments, our choice is necessarily more bounded.

dance and fence without whipping ; nay, arithmetic, drawing, &c. they apply themselves well enough to without beating : which would make one suspect, that there is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that age, in the things required in grammar-schools, or in the methods used there, that children cannot be brought to, without the severity of the lash, and hardly with that too ; or else, that it is a mistake, that those tongues could not be taught them without beating.

87. But let us suppose some so negligent or idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways proposed, for we must grant, that there will be children found of all tempers ; yet it does not thence follow, that the rough discipline of the cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the milder methods of government, till they have been thoroughly tried upon him ; and if they will not prevail with him to use his endeavours, and do what is in his power to do, we make no excuses for the obstinate. Blows are the proper remedies for those ; but blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his book, and stubbornly refuses any thing he can do, required of him by his father, expressing himself in a positive serious command, should not be corrected with two or three angry lashes, for not performing his task, and the same punishment repeated again and again upon every the like default ; but when it is brought to that pass, that wilfulness evidently shows itself, and makes blows necessary, I think the chastise-

ment should be a little more sedate, and a little more severe, and the whipping (mingled with admonition between) so continued, till the impressions of it on the mind were found legible in the face, voice, and submission of the child, not so sensible of the smart, as of the fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true sorrow under it. If such a correction as this, tried some few times at fit distances, and carried to the utmost severity, with the visible displeasure of the father all the while, will not work the effect, turn the mind, and produce a future compliance, what can be hoped from blows, and to what purpose should they be any more used? Beating, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy, than the good-will of a compassionate friend; and such chastisement carries with it only provocation, without any prospect of amendment. If it be any father's misfortune to have a son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do, but pray for him. But, I imagine, if a right course be taken with children from the beginning, very few will be found to be such; and when there are any such instances, they are not to be the rule for the education of those who are better natured, and may be managed with better usage.

## TUTOR.

88. If a tutor can be got, that thinking himself in the father's place, charged with his care, and relishing these things, will at the beginning apply

himself to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very easy; and you will, I guess, have your son in a little time a greater proficient in both learning and breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no means beat him at any time, without your consent and direction; at least till you have experience of his discretion and temper. But yet, to keep up his authority with his pupil, besides concealing that he has not the power of the rod, you must be sure to use him with great respect yourself, and cause all your family to do so too: for you cannot expect your son should have any regard for one whom he sees you, or his mother, or others slight. If you think him worthy of contempt, you have chosen amiss; and if you show any contempt of him, he will hardly escape it from your son: and whenever that happens, whatever worth he may have in himself, and abilities for this employment, they are all lost to your child, and can afterwards never be made useful to him. <sup>(41)</sup>

89. As the father's example must teach the child

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<sup>(41)</sup> Montaigne's ideas of a tutor's character and qualifications differ very little from those of Locke. "La charge du gouverneur, que vous lui donnerez," he observes, "du choix duquel dépend tout l'effect de son institution, elle a plusieurs autres grandes parties; mais je n'y touche point, pour n'y savoir rien apporter qui vaille: et de cet article, sur lequel je me mele de lui donner avis, il m'en croira autant, qu'il y verra d'apparence. A un enfant de maison, qui recherche les lettres, non pour le gain (car un fin si abjecte est indigne de la grace et faveur des Muses, et puis elle regarde et depend d'autrui) ni tant pour les commodités externes que pour les siennes propres, et pour s'enrichir et parer

respect for his tutor, so the tutor's example must lead the child into those actions he would have him do. His practice must by no means cross his precepts, unless he intend to set him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the tutor to talk of the restraint of the passions, whilst any of his own are let loose; and he will in vain endeavour to reform any vice or indecency in his pupil, which he allows in himself. Ill patterns are sure to be followed more than good rules; and therefore he must also carefully preserve him from the influence of ill precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the examples of the servants; from whose company he is to be kept, not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways I have mentioned.

90. In all the whole business of education, there is nothing like to be less hearkened to, or harder to be well observed, than what I am now going to say; and that is, that children should, from their first beginning to talk, have some discreet, sober, nay, wise person about them, whose care it should be to fashion them aright, and keep them from all ill, especially the infection of bad company. I think this province requires great sobriety, temperance, tenderness, diligence, and discretion; qualities

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au-dedans, ayant plutôt envie d'en reussir habil'homme, qu'homme savant; je voudrais aussi qu'ont fut soigneux de lui choisir un conducteur, qui eut plutôt la tête bien faite, que bien pleine: et qu'ont-y requit tous les deux, mais plus les mœurs et l'entendement que la science: et qu'il se conduisit en sa charge d'une nouvelle maniere."—(*Essais de Montaigne*, liv. i. c. xxv. tom. ii. pp. 45, 46.)

hardly to be found united in persons that are to be had for ordinary salaries, nor easily to be found anywhere. As to the charge of it, I think it will be the money best laid out that can be, about our children; and therefore, though it may be expensive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well-principled, tempered to virtue and usefulness, and adorned with civility and good breeding, makes a better purchase for him, than if he had laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres. <sup>(42)</sup> Spare it in toys and play-games, in silk and ribbons, laces, and other useless expenses, as much as you please; but be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. It is not good husbandry to make his fortune rich, and his mind poor. I have often with great admiration seen people lavish it profusely in tricking up their children in fine clothes, lodging and feeding them

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<sup>(42)</sup> Locke will not be suspected of affecting any cynical contempt for wealth;—on this point his philosophy is perhaps too indulgent;—but he wisely inculcates the necessity of preferring before it education, which, rightly considered, is only that mental training which enables the opulent to enjoy wealth, and the poor to be happy without it. All real philosophers have admitted,—indeed they could do no otherwise,—the value of riches to those who know how to employ them; but Aristotle, distinguished for his sound common sense, derides the absurd desire of mankind to heap up wealth indefinitely. “There is a limit,” he observes, “to the accumulation of wealth for provision, but none to accumulation for gain. The master of a family endeavours by economy to provide for his household, and to perpetuate the means of subsistence. The merchant labours merely to increase his riches. But the inordinate desire of money, though

sumptuously, allowing them more than enough of useless servants, and at the same time starve their minds, and not take sufficient care to cover that, which is the most shameful nakedness, viz. their natural wrong inclinations and ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a sacrificing to their own vanity, it showing more their pride, than true care of the good of their children: whatsoever you employ to the advantage of your son's mind, will show your true kindness, though it be to the lessening of his estate. A wise and good man can hardly want either the opinion or reality of being great and happy; but he that is foolish or vicious, can be neither great nor happy, what estate soever you leave him: and I ask you, whether there be not men in the world, whom you had rather have your son be with five hundred pounds per annum, than some other you know with five thousand pounds.

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they who experience may not be conscious of the fact, is only a sign that other malignant and ill-regulated passions sway the soul, for the gratification of which money is sought." (*Politics*, l. i. c. 6.) And Isocrates observes, that opulence is more frequently the minister of evil than of virtue and goodness, (*καλοκαγαθίας*,) furnishing inducements to sloth, and tempting to the pursuit of pleasure. (*Προς Δημοκ.* §. 6.) Montaigne congratulates himself at having, even in his advanced age, escaped "that good old-gentlemanly vice" which besets too many some time before they reach their grand climacteric. "Et me gratifie singulièrement," says the honest old Gascon, "que cette correction me soit arrivée, en un age naturellement enclin à l'avarice, et que je me vois defait de cette folie si commune aux vieux, et la plus ridicule de toutes les humaines folies."—(*Essais*, liv. i. chap. xl. tom. iii. p. 49.)

91. The consideration of charge ought not therefore to deter those who are able. The great difficulty will be where to find a proper person: for those of small age, parts, and virtue, are unfit for this employment, and those that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake such a charge. You must therefore look out early, and inquire everywhere; for the world has people of all sorts. And I remember Montaigne says, in one of his Essays, that the learned Castalio was fain to make trenchers at Bâle, to keep himself from starving, when his father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son, and Castalio have willingly embraced such an employment upon very reasonable terms; but this was for want of intelligence. <sup>(43)</sup>

92. If you find it difficult to meet with such a tutor as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, spare no care or cost to get such a

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<sup>(43)</sup> In what edition, or in what part of the Essays, Locke met with this anecdote, I have been unable to discover; but probably what is here said of the trencher-making at Bâle may have been found in a note to some old English translation. It might have been expected, that when Montaigne passed through the above city, in his way to Italy, he would have alluded in his journal (published one hundred and eighty years after his death) to the poverty of Castalio, where he mentions the learned men of the place; (t. i. pp. 44—58;) but no allusion to his name occurs. His extreme poverty, and ultimate starvation, are however commemorated, but without any mention of the trencher-making, in his Essays, (l. i. ch. 34, tom. ii. p. 270,) where he is lamenting the want, throughout Europe, of something like our present system of advertising, which still needs many improvements. “To the great shame of our present age, I hear,” he observes, “that, before our eyes, two most excellent learned men have died from not having where-

one. All things are to be had that way: and I dare assure you, that if you can get a good one, you will never repent the charge; but will always have the satisfaction to think it the money, of all other, the best laid out. But be sure take nobody upon friends', or charitable, no, nor bare great commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the reputation of a sober man, with a good stock of learning, (which is all usually required in a tutor,) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this choice, be as curious as you would be in that of a wife for him; for you must not think of trial or changing afterwards: this will cause great inconvenience to you, and greater to your son. When I consider the scruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I advised you to something, which I would have offered at, but in effect not done. But he that shall consider how

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with to satisfy their hunger: Lilius Gregorius Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany. I think, however, there are thousands of persons, who, had they known their situation, would have received them into their houses on very advantageous conditions, or have relieved them where they were. The world is not so wholly corrupt but that I know many a man, who would most earnestly wish that the wealth his forefathers had placed in his hands, should be employed—as long as it should please fortune to allow him the possession of it—in sheltering from poverty such extraordinary and remarkable persons as misfortune sometimes drives to the utmost extremity; or, at least, place them in such a state that it would depend only upon the proper use of their own reason to be happy." With regard to Giraldus, Montaigne was misinformed, for, instead of being starved, he died of the gout, and left considerable property behind him. (See his *Life, Opera, folio, Jensii Prolegom.* i. 12.—*Roscoe, Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 180.)

much the business of a tutor, rightly employed, lies out of the road, and how remote it is from the thoughts of many, even of those who propose to themselves this employment, will perhaps be of my mind, that one fit to educate and form the mind of a young gentleman, is not everywhere to be found, and that more than ordinary care is to be taken in the choice of him, or else you may fail of your end.

93. The character of a sober man and a scholar, is, as I have above observed, what every one expects in a tutor. This generally is thought enough, and is all that parents commonly look for : but when such a one has emptied out into his pupil all the Latin and logic he has brought from the university, will that furniture make him a fine gentleman ? Or can it be expected, that he should be better bred, better skilled in the world, better principled in the grounds and foundations of true virtue and generosity, than his young tutor is.

To form a young gentleman as he should be, it is fit his governor should himself be well-bred, understand the ways of carriage, and measures of civility in all the variety of persons, times, and places, and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them. This is an art not to be learned or taught by books. Nothing can give it, but good company, and observation joined together. The tailor may make his clothes modish, and the dancing-master give fashion to his motions ; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred gentleman. No, though he have learning to boot, which, if not

well managed, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in conversation. Breeding is that which sets a gloss upon all his other good qualities, and renders them useful to him, in procuring him the esteem and good-will of all that he comes near. Without good breeding, his other accomplishments make him pass but for proud, conceited, vain, or foolish.

Courage in an ill-bred man, has the air, and escapes not the opinion of brutality. Learning becomes pedantry; wit, buffoonry; plainness, rusticity; good nature, fawning. And there cannot be a good quality in him, which want of breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his disadvantage. Nay, virtue and parts, though they are allowed their due commendation, yet are not enough to procure a man a good reception, and make him welcome wherever he comes. Nobody contents himself with rough diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with advantage. When they are polished and set, then they give a lustre. Good qualities are the substantial riches of the mind, but it is good breeding sets them off: and he that will be acceptable, must give beauty, as well as strength, to his actions. Solidity, or even usefulness, is not enough: a graceful way and fashion in every thing, is that which gives the ornament and liking. And in most cases, the manner of doing is of more consequence than the thing done; and upon that depends the satisfaction or disgust wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the hat, nor making of compliments, but in a due and

free composure of language, looks, motion, posture, place, &c. suited to persons and occasions, and can be learned only by habit and use, though it be above the capacity of children, and little ones should not be perplexed about it, yet it ought to be begun, and in a good measure learned by a young gentleman whilst he is under a tutor, before he comes into the world upon his own legs : for then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual indecencies, which lie in little things. For the carriage is not as it should be, till it is become natural in every part, falling, as skilful musicians' fingers do, into harmonious order without care, and without thought. If in conversation a man's mind be taken up with a solicitous watchfulness about any part of his behaviour, instead of being mended by it, it will be constrained, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be formed by the hands and care of a governor, because though the errors committed in breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of: not but that the malice of the world is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who should make profit of their judgment, and reform himself by their censure. And indeed, this is so nice a point to be meddled with, that even those who are friends, and wish it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love, that they are guilty in such or such cases of ill-breeding. Errors in other things may often with civility be shown another; and it is no breach of

good manners or friendship, to set him right in other mistakes : but good-breeding itself allows not a man to touch upon this, or to insinuate to another, that he is guilty of want of breeding. Such information can come only from those who have authority over them ; and from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown man : and however softened, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever so little in the world. Wherefore it is necessary, that this part should be the governor's principal care, that an habitual gracefulness, and politeness in all his carriage, may be settled in his charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his hands ; and that he may not need advice in this point, when he has neither time nor disposition to receive it, nor has any body left to give it him, the tutor therefore ought in the first place to be well-bred : and a young gentleman, who gets this one qualification from his governor, sets out with great advantage, and will find that this one accomplishment will more open his way to him, get him more friends, and carry him further in the world, than all hard words, or real knowledge he has got from the liberal arts, (<sup>44</sup>) or his tutor's learned En-

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(<sup>44</sup>) This is somewhat Chesterfieldian, and not altogether true. A polished manner, which is what is here understood by good-breeding, will not so entirely supply the place of useful qualities as to render the possession of them superfluous. Helvétius (*De l'Esprit, Discours, ii. ch. 9, 10,*) has many excellent remarks on this subject : " Si l'on entend par *bon ton*," says he, " le ton proper à plaire également dans toute société, en ce sens il n'est point d'homme de bon ton. Pour l'être il faudroit avoir toutes les connoissances, tous les genres d'esprit, et peut-être tous

cyclopædia. Not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferred, or suffered to thrust out the other.

94. Besides being well-bred, the tutor should know the world well: the ways, the humours, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he has fallen into, and particularly of the country he lives in. These he should be able to show to his pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him skill in men, and their manners; pull off the mask which their several callings and pretences cover them with, and make his pupil discern what lies at the bottom, under such appearances, that he may not, as unexperienced young men are apt to do, if they are unwarned, take one thing for another, judge by the outside, and give himself up to show, and the insinuation of a fair carriage, or an obliging application. A governor should teach his scholar to guess at, and beware of the designs of men he hath to do with, neither with too much suspicion, nor too much confidence; but as the young man is by nature most inclined to either side, rectify him, and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make, as much as is possible, a true judg-

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les jargons differens ; supposition impossible à faire. On ne peut donc entendre par ce mot de bon ton que le genre de conversation dont les idées et l'expression de ces mêmes idées doit plaire le plus généralement. Or le bon ton ainsi défini n'appartient à nulle classe d'hommes en particulier, mais uniquement à ceux qui s'occupent d'idées grandes et qui, puisées dans des arts et des sciences tel que la métaphysique, la guerre, la morale, le commerce, la politique, présentent toujours à l'esprit des objets intéressants pour l'humanité."

ment of men by those marks which serve best to show what they are, and give a prospect into their inside, which often shows itself in little things, especially when they are not in parade, and upon their guard. He should acquaint him with the true state of the world, and dispose him to think no man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than really he is.<sup>(45)</sup> Thus by safe and insensible degrees, he

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<sup>(45)</sup> This, no doubt, is the master-science ; but it is not to be learned from men of the world, and rare indeed must be the qualities of that tutor who could teach it. Philip understood the whole difficulty of finding such a man when he congratulated himself on living and having a son in an age when it was possible to have an Aristotle to superintend his education. The greatest princes are seldom so fortunate. Aurungzéb, sovereign of Hindostan, many of whose vices might perhaps be traced to his wretched education, thus expressed himself on the subject, when, on his accession to the throne, the moollah who had been his preceptor came to solicit some place of high trust and profit at court :—"What is it you would have of me, Doctor ? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief Omrahs of my court ? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just ; for I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father. But where are those good documents you have given me ? In the first place, you have taught me, that all that Frangistan (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England ; and as to the other kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty Rajas ; telling me, that the kings of Hindostan were far above them altogether, and that they were the true and only Houmaions, the Akbars, the Jehanghers, the Shah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world ; and that Persia and Usbek, Kashgar, Tartary and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina, did

will pass from a boy to a man ; which is the most hazardous step in all the whole course of life. This

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tremble at the name of the kings of Hindostan. Admirable geography ! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments, and interests ; and, by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the names of my grandsires, the famous founders of this empire ; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write. I am much obliged to you, forsooth, for having made me lose so much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection ; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them ; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought betimes to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctance, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words."

Thus did Aurungzéb resent the pedantic instructions of his tutor ; to which it is affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment, which he had with others, he further added the following reproof :

" Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with a happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions ? The law, prayers, and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue as in Arabic ? You told my father, Shah-Jehan, that you would teach me philosophy. It is true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no

therefore should be carefully watched, and a young man with great diligence handed over it ;

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use in human society, empty notions, and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand, and very easy to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is insupportable. I still remember, that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex and tire out the best wits, and only invented the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words are hid great mysteries which they alone are capable to understand. If you had seasoned me with that philosophy which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle; and believe it my duty to recompense you otherwise than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign, and ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Hindostan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what it is to besiege a town, or to set an army in array. For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village whence you are come, and let nobody know who you are, or what is become of you."

and not as now usually is done, be taken from a governor's conduct, and all at once thrown into the world under his own, not without manifest dangers of immediate spoiling; there being nothing more frequent than instances of the great looseness, extravagancy, and debauchery, which young men have run into as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict education: <sup>(46)</sup> which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of breeding, especially in this part; for having been bred up in a great ignorance of what the world truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it should be, and so imagined it was, are easily persuaded, by other kind of tutors, which they are sure to meet with, that the discipline they were kept under, and the lectures read to them, were but the formalities of education, and the restraints of childhood; that the freedom belonging to men, is to take their swing in a full enjoyment of what was before

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(<sup>46</sup>) Isocrates glancing in his *Areopagitica*, at the history of Athenian education, observes, that in the earlier ages of the Republic, though much care was taken of the training of youth, that of the first stage of manhood was watched over with still greater solicitude. (§. *id'*. *Oratores Attici*, tom. iii. p. 364.) During this period,—from eighteen to twenty-one,—the young men were denominated *ἐφηβοί*. (*Pollux*. viii. 104, 105.) After this, becoming their own masters, they were supposed to possess greater liberty; as is well remarked in the *Andrian* of Terence. (*Act* i. *sc.* v. 24, *sqq.*)

“Nam is, postquam excessit ex ephēbis, Sosia,  
 Liberiꝯ vivendi fuit potestas: nam antea,  
 Qui scire posses, aut ingenium noscere,  
 Dum ætas, metus, magister prohibebant?”

forbidden them. They show the young novice the world, full of fashionable and glittering examples of this everywhere, and he is presently dazzled with them. My young master failing not to be willing to show himself a man, as much as any of the sparks of his years, lets himself loose to all the irregularities he finds in the most debauched; and thus courts credit and manliness, in casting off the modesty and sobriety he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his first setting out, to signalize himself in running counter to all the rules of virtue which have been preached to him by his tutor.

The showing him the world as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best means, I think, to prevent this mischief. He should by degrees be informed of the vices in fashion, and warned of the applications and designs of those who will make it their business to corrupt him. He should be told the arts they use, and the trains they lay; and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous examples of those who are ruining or ruined this way. The age is not like to want instances of this kind, which should be made land-marks to him, that by the disgraces, diseases, beggary, and shame of hopeful young men, thus brought to ruin, he may be cautioned, and be made to see, how those join in the contempt and neglect of them that are undone, who by pretences of friendship and respect, lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilst they are undoing: that he may see, before he buys it by a too dear expe-

rience, that those who persuade him not to follow the sober advices he has received from his governors, and the counsel of his own reason, which they call being governed by others, do it only that they may have the government of him themselves: and make him believe, he goes like a man of himself, by his own conduct, and for his own pleasure, when in truth he is wholly as a child led by them into those vices which best serve their purposes. This is a knowledge, which, upon all occasions, a tutor should endeavour to instil, and by all methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said, that to discover to a young man the vices of the age, is to teach them him. That, I confess, is a good deal so, according as it is done; and therefore requires a discreet man of parts, who knows the world, and can judge of the temper, inclination, and weak side of his pupil. This farther is to be remembered, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young gentleman from vice, by a total ignorance of it, unless you will all his life muffle him up in a closet, and never let him go into company. The longer he is kept thus hoodwinked, the less he will see when he comes abroad into open day-light, and be the more exposed to be a prey to himself and others. And an old boy, at his first appearance, with all the gravity of his ivy-bush about him, is sure to draw on him the eyes and chirping of the whole town volery; amongst which, there will not

be wanting some birds of prey, that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only fence against the world, is, a thorough knowledge of it, into which a young gentleman should be entered by degrees, as he can bear it; and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skilful hands to guide him. The scene should be gently opened, and his entrance made step by step, and the dangers pointed out that attend him, from the several degrees, tempers, designs and clubs of men. He should be prepared to be shocked by some, and caressed by others; warned who are like to oppose, who to mislead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know and distinguish them; where he should let them see, and when dissemble the knowledge of them and their aims and workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own strength and skill, the perplexity and trouble of a misadventure now and then, that reaches not his innocence, his health, or reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more caution.<sup>(47)</sup>

This, I confess, containing one great part of wisdom, is not the product of some superficial

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(<sup>47</sup>) Shakspeare has thrown into several of his plays, but more particularly into "All's Well that Ends Well," and "Hamlet," directions to a young man on his entering the world. The tragedy, in order of time, is said to have preceded the comedy, the latter having been first acted in 1598, the former in 1596: but, as we possess only the revised copy of Hamlet, published in 1604, we may regard the other play as the earlier pro-

thoughts, or much reading ; but the effect of experience and observation in a man, who has lived in the world with his eyes open, and conversed with men of all sorts: and therefore I think it of most value to be instilled into a young man, upon all occasions which offer themselves, that when he

duction ; and there, in a speech of the Countess Roussillon to her son, we have the first germ of Polonius's advice to Laertes. Bertram is about to depart for the court, and his mother says,

“ Be thou blest, Bertram, and succeed thy father  
In manners as in shape ! thy blood and virtue  
Contend for empire in thee, and thy goodness  
Share with thy birth-right ! Love all, trust a few,  
Do wrong to none : be able for thine enemy  
Rather in power than use ; and keep thy friend  
Under thy own life's key : be checked for silence,  
But never taxed for speech. What heaven more will,  
That thee may furnish, and my prayers pluck down,  
Fall on thy head ! ” — *Act I. sc. I.*

In Hamlet, the poet wields his subject with a more perfect mastery, and his precepts, though put into the mouth of a conceited old politician, savour of a wider experience of mankind :—

————— “ There,—my blessing with you:  
And these few precepts in thy memory  
See thou character. Give thy thoughts no tongue,  
Nor any unproportioned thought his act:  
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar;  
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,  
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel:  
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment  
Of each new-hatched unfledged comrade. Beware  
Of entrance to a quarrel ; but being in,  
Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.  
Give every man thine ear: but few thy voice.  
Take each man's censure: but reserve thy judgment.  
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,  
But not exprest in fancy ; rich, not gaudy:  
For the apparel oft proclaims the man,  
And they in France of the best rank and station,  
Are most select and generous, chief in that.  
Neither a borrower, nor a lender be;  
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,  
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.  
This above all: to thine ownself be true,  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou can'st not then be false to any man.  
Farewell, my blessing season this in thee ! ”

comes to launch into the deep himself, he may not be like one at sea without a line, compass, or sea-chart; but may have some notice beforehand of the rocks and shoals, the currents and quicksands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not before he get experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his son, and for which he more needs a governor, than the languages and learned sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of men, and manage his affairs wisely with them than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in mood and figure; or to have his head filled with the abstruse speculations of natural philosophy and metaphysics; nay, than to be well versed in Greek and Roman writers, though that be much better for a gentleman, than to be a good Peripatetic or Cartesian, because those ancient authors observed and painted mankind well, and give the best light into that kind of knowledge.<sup>(48)</sup> He that goes into the eastern parts of Asia, will find able and acceptable men without any of these; but without virtue, knowledge of the world, and civility, an accom-

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(<sup>48</sup>) Like all others who are acquainted with them he regards the ancients as practical teachers; but observes, what must be obvious to any man of reflection, that it is very possible to be "able and acceptable" without their aid. Nor will it be necessary to go so far as the eastern parts of Asia,—that is, to Hindostan and China,—to discover proofs of this; our own age and country supplies sufficient examples; but we are not therefore to infer that such persons, though doubtless "able and acceptable," would not have been still more elegant in manners, and wiser in council, had their minds been early imbued with the accumulated wisdom of the past.

plished and valuable man can be found nowhere.

A great part of the learning now in fashion in the schools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the round of education, a gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great disparagement to himself, or prejudice to his affairs. But prudence and good-breeding are in all the stations and occurrences of life necessary ; and most young men suffer in the want of them, and come rawer and more awkward into the world, than they should, for this very reason, because these qualities, which are of all others the most necessary to be taught, and stand most in need of the assistance and help of a teacher, are generally neglected and thought but a slight, or no part of a tutor's business. Latin and learning make all the noise ; and the main stress is laid upon his proficiency in things, a great part whereof belong not to a gentleman's calling ; which is to have the knowledge of a man of business, a carriage suitable to his rank, and to be eminent and useful in his country, according to his station. Whenever either spare hours from that, or an inclination to perfect himself in some parts of knowledge, which his tutor did but just enter in him, sets him upon any study, the first rudiments of it, which he learned before, will open the way enough for his own industry to carry him as far as his fancy will prompt, or his parts enable him to go. Or, if he thinks it may save his time and pains to be helped over some difficulties by the hand of a master, he may then take a man that is

perfectly well skilled in it, or choose such a one as he think fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his pupil in any part of learning, as far as is necessary for a young man in the ordinary course of his studies, an ordinary skill in the governor is enough. Nor is it requisite that he should be a thorough scholar, or possess in perfection all those sciences which it is convenient a young gentleman should have a taste of in some general view, or short system. A gentleman that would penetrate deeper must do it by his own genius and industry afterwards: for nobody ever went far in knowledge, or became eminent in any of the sciences, by the discipline and constraint of a master.

The great work of a governor, is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits, and the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him by little and little a view of mankind, and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and, in the prosecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and industry. The studies, which he sets him upon, are but as it were the exercises of his faculties, and employment of his time, to keep him from sauntering and idleness, to teach him application, and accustom him to take pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a tutor a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator, or logician? go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy, or mathematics? or be a master in history or chronology? though something of each of

these is to be taught him: but it is only to open the door that he may look in, and as it were begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there: and a governor would be much blamed that should keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. (<sup>49</sup>) But of good-breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much: and if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other.

And since it cannot be hoped he should have time and strength to learn all things, most pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally looked after, which will be of most and frequentest use to him in the world.

Seneca complains of the contrary practice in his time; and yet the Burgersdiciuses and the Scheiblers did not swarm in those days, as they do now in these. What would he have thought, if he had lived now when the tutors think it their great busi-

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(<sup>49</sup>) Locke by no means intends, in this place, that a youth should rest content with a superficial knowledge of the sciences he has enumerated above; but that, having obtained from his preceptor, glimpses of the beauties which an ingenuous mind discovers in philosophy, he should be left to follow out, thereafter, and at his leisure, whatever branch of learning might obtain his preference. Among certain classes of the community, where the youth are from the beginning designed for business, public or private, a passion for philosophical pursuits is regarded with disapprobation. "*Memoriâ teneo*," says Tacitus, speaking of his father-in-law Agricola, "*solitum ipsum narrare, se in prima juvenia studium philosophiæ acrius, ultrâ quàm concessum Romano et senatori hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.*" (*Vit. Agricol.* 4.)

ness to fill the studies and heads of their pupils with such authors as these? He would have had much more reason to say, as he does, *Non vitæ sed scholæ discimus*, “we learn not to live, but to dispute;” and our education fits us rather for the university, than the world. But it is no wonder if those who make the fashion, suit it to what they have, and not to what their pupils want. The fashion being once established, who can think it strange, that in this, as well as in all other things, it should prevail? And that the greatest part of those, who find their account in an easy submission to it, should be ready to cry out, heresy, when any one departs from it? It is nevertheless matter of astonishment, that men of quality and parts should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom and implicit faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise that their children’s time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be men, rather than to have their heads stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do (it is certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them, they are only the worse for. This is so well known, that I appeal to parents themselves, who have been at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have any tincture of that sort of learning, when they come abroad into the world? whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in company? And that certainly must be an admirable acquisition, and

deserves well to make a part in education, which men are ashamed of, where they are most concerned to show their parts and breeding.

There is yet another reason why politeness of manners, and knowledge of the world should principally be looked after in a tutor; and that is, because a man of parts and years may enter a lad far enough in any of those sciences, which he has no deep insight into himself. Books in these will be able to furnish him, and give him light and precedence enough to go before a young follower: but he will never be able to set another right in the knowledge of the world, and above all in breeding, who is a novice in them himself.

This is a knowledge he must have about him, worn into him by use and conversation, and a long forming himself by what he has observed to be practised and allowed in the best company. This, if he has it not of his own, is nowhere to be borrowed for the use of his pupil; or if he could find pertinent treatises of it in books, that would reach all the particulars of an English gentleman's behaviour, his own ill-fashioned example, if he be not well bred himself, would spoil all his lectures: it being impossible, that any one should come forth well fashioned out of unpolished, ill-bred company.

I say this, not that I think such a tutor is every day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary rates; but that those who are able, may not be sparing of inquiry or cost in what is of so great moment; and that other parents, whose estates will not reach to greater salaries, may yet remember

what they should principally have an eye to in the choice of one to whom they would commit the education of their children; and what part they should chiefly look after themselves, whilst they are under their care, and as often as they come within their observation; and not think that all lies in Latin and French, or some dry systems of logic and philosophy.

#### FAMILIARITY.

95. But to return to our method again. Though I have mentioned the severity of the father's brow, and the awe settled thereby in the mind of children when young, as one main instrument whereby their education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an opinion, that it should be continued all along to them, whilst they are under the discipline and government of pupilage; I think it should be relaxed, as fast as their age, discretion and good behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a father will do well, as his son grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, ask his advice, and consult with him about those things wherein he has any knowledge or understanding. By this, the father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, that it will put serious considerations into his son's thoughts, better than any rules or advices he can give him. The sooner you treat him as a man, the sooner he will begin to be one: and if you admit him into serious discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his mind above the usual amusements of

youth, and those trifling occupations which it is commonly wasted in. For it is easy to observe, that many young men continue longer in the thought and conversation of school-boys, than otherwise they would, because their parents keep them at that distance, and in that low rank, by all their carriage to them.

96. Another thing of greater consequence, which you will obtain by such a way of treating him, will be his friendship. Many fathers, though they proportion to their sons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep the knowledge of their estates and concerns from them, with as much reservedness, as if they were guarding a secret of state from a spy or an enemy. This, if it looks not like jealousy, yet it wants those marks of kindness and intimacy which a father should show to his son, and no doubt often hinders or abates that cheerfulness and satisfaction wherewith a son should address himself to, and rely upon his father. And I cannot but often wonder to see fathers, who love their sons very well, yet so order the matter by a constant stiffness, and a mien of authority and distance to them all their lives, as if they were never to enjoy, or have any comfort from those they love best in the world, till they had lost them, by being removed into another. Nothing cements and establishes friendship and good-will, so much as confident communication of concerns and affairs. Other kindnesses, without this, leave still some doubts: but when your son sees you open your mind to him,

when he finds that you interest him in your affairs, as things you are willing should in their turns come into his hands, he will be concerned for them as for his own, wait his season with patience, and love you in the meantime, who keep him not at the distance of a stranger. This will also make him see, that the enjoyment you have, is not without care; which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the possession, and the more think himself happy under the management of so favourable a friend and so careful a father. There is scarce any young man of so little thought, or so void of sense, that would not be glad of a sure friend, that he might have recourse to, and freely consult on occasion. The reservedness and distance that fathers keep, often deprive their sons of that refuge, which would be of more advantage to them, than a hundred rebukes and chidings. Would your son engage in some frolic, or take a vagary, were it not much better he should do it with, than without your knowledge? For since allowances for such things must be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and designs, the better will you be able to prevent great mischiefs; and by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less inconveniences. Would you have him open his heart to you, and ask your advice? you must begin to do so with him first, and by your carriage beget that confidence.

97. But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable mischief,

be sure you advise only as a friend of more experience; but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, nor more than you would to your equal, or a stranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any further demanding, or receiving advantage from your counsel. You must consider that he is a young man, and has pleasures and fancies which you are past. You must not expect his inclination should be just as yours, nor that at twenty he should have the same thoughts you have at fifty. All that you can wish, is, that since youth must have some liberty, some out-leaps, they might be with the ingenuity of a son, and under the eye of a father, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your affairs, propose matters to him familiarly, and ask his advice; and when he ever lights on the right, follow it as his; and if it succeed well, let him have the commendation. This will not at all lessen your authority, but increase his love and esteem of you. Whilst you keep your estate, the staff will still be in your own hands; and your authority the surer, the more he is strengthened with confidence and kindness. For you have not that power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a friend, than of losing some part of his future expectation.

98. Familiarity of discourse, if it can become a father to his son, may much more be condescended to by a tutor to his pupil. All their time

together should not be spent in reading of lectures, and magisterially dictating to him, what he is to observe and follow. Hearing him in his turn, and using him to reason about what is proposed, will make the rules go down the easier, and sink the deeper, and will give him a liking to study and instruction: and he will then begin to value knowledge, when he sees that it enables him to discourse, and he finds the pleasure and credit of bearing a part in the conversation, and of having his reasons sometimes approved, and hearkened to; particularly in morality, prudence, and breeding, cases should be put to him, and his judgment asked. This opens the understanding better than maxims, how well soever explained, and settles the rules better in the memory for practice. This way lets things into the mind, which stick there, and retain their evidence with them; whereas words at best are faint representations, being not so much as the true shadows of things, and are much sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the foundations and measures of decency and justice, and have livelier, and more lasting impressions of what he ought to do, by giving his opinion on cases proposed, and reasoning with his tutor on fit instances, than by giving a silent, negligent, sleepy audience to his tutor's lectures; and much more than by captious logical disputes, or set declamations of his own, upon any question. The one sets the thoughts upon wit and false colours, and not upon truth; the other teaches fallacy, wrangling, and opiniatry; and they are both of them things that

spoil the judgment, and put a man out of the way of right and fair reasoning; and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himself, and be acceptable to others.

## REVERENCE.

99. When by making your son sensible that he depends on you, and is in your power, you have established your authority; and by being inflexibly severe in your carriage to him, when obstinately persisting in any ill-natured trick which you have forbidden, especially lying, you have imprinted on his mind that awe which is necessary: and, on the other side, when (by permitting him the full liberty due to his age, and laying no restraint in your presence to those childish actions and gaiety of carriage, which, whilst he is very young, is as necessary to him as meat or sleep) you have reconciled him to your company, and made him sensible of your care and love of him by indulgence and tenderness, especially caressing him on all occasions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him after a thousand fashions, suitable to his age, which nature teaches parents better than I can: when, I say, by these ways of tenderness and affection, which parents never want for their children, you have also planted in him a particular affection for you; he is then in the state you could desire, and you have formed in his mind that true reverence which is always afterwards carefully to be continued, and maintained in both parts of it, love and fear, as the great princi-

ples whereby you will always have hold upon him, to turn his mind to the ways of virtue and honour.

## TEMPER.

100. When this foundation is once well laid, and you find this reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to consider his temper, and the particular constitution of his mind. Stubbornness, lying, and ill-natured actions, are not (as have been said) to be permitted in him from the beginning, whatever his temper be. Those seeds of vices are not to be suffered to take any root, but must be carefully weeded out, as soon as ever they begin to show themselves in him; and your authority is to take place, and influence his mind, from the very dawning of any knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural principle, whereof he never perceived the beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwise. By this, if the reverence he owes you be established early, it will always be sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to resist it, as the principles of his nature.

101. Having thus very early set up your authority, and by the gentler applications of it, shamed him out of what leads towards any immoral habit, as soon as you have observed it in him, (for I would by no means have chiding used, much less blows, till obstinacy and incorrigibleness make it absolutely necessary,) it will be fit to consider which way the natural make of his mind in-

clines him. Some men, by the unalterable frame of their constitutions are stout, others timorous, some confident, others modest, tractable, or obstinate, curious or careless, quick or slow. There are not more differences in men's faces, and the outward lineaments of their bodies, than there are in the makes and tempers of their minds; only there is this difference, that the distinguishing characters of the face, and the lineaments of the body, grow more plain and visible with time and age; but the peculiar physiognomy of the mind is most discernible in children, before art and cunning hath taught them to hide their deformities, and conceal their ill inclinations under a dissembled outside.

102. Begin therefore betimes nicely to observe your son's temper; and that, when he is under least restraint in his play, and as he thinks out of your sight, see what are his predominate passions, and prevailing inclinations; whether he be fierce or mild, bold or bashful, compassionate or cruel, open or reserved, &c. For as these are different in him, so are your methods to be different, and your authority must hence take measures to apply itself different ways to him. These native propensities, these prevalencies of constitution, are not to be cured by rules, or a direct contest, especially those of them' that are the humbler and meaner sort, which proceed from fear, and lowness of spirit, though with art they may be much mended, and turned to good purposes. But

this, be sure, after all is done, the bias will always hang on that side that nature first placed it: and if you carefully observe the characters of his mind, now in the first scenes of his life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his thoughts lean, and what he aims at even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the plot thickens, and he puts on several shapes to act it.

103. I told you before, that children love liberty; and therefore they should be brought to do the things that are fit for them, without feeling any restraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love something more, and that is dominion: and this is the first original of most vicious habits, that are ordinary and natural. This love of power and dominion, shows itself very early, and that in these two things.

104. 1. We see children, as soon almost as they are born, (I am sure long before they can speak,) cry, grow peevish, sullen, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their wills. They would have their desires submitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them, especially from those that stand near, or beneath them in age or degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions.

105. Another thing wherein they show their love of dominion, is, their desire to have things to be theirs: they would have property and possession, pleasing themselves with the power which that seems to give, and the right they thereby have

to dispose of them as they please. <sup>(50)</sup> He that has not observed these two humours working very be- times in children, has taken little notice of their actions: and he who thinks that these two roots of almost all the injustice and contention that so disturb human life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary habits introduced, neglects the proper season to lay the foundations of a good and worthy man. To do this, I imagine these following things may somewhat conduce.

106. 1. That a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, much less what he cries for I had said, or so much as speaks for: but that being apt to be misunderstood, and interpreted as if I meant a child should never speak to his

<sup>(50)</sup> A respect for wealth, and every worldly advantage, is inherent in the character of man, and can only be modified, not eradicated, by philosophy. It is visible among the most savage and destitute beings in the creation. I have observed it, as no doubt the reader also has, in children, in their earliest infancy, so soon, at least, as they could express their feelings. It develops itself thus:—two boys, say brothers, are walking together, or playing about a room, with their ordinary playthings: their language and manner are those of equals. Presently, one of them picks up an apple, a walnut, a bunch of grapes, or any other trifling thing which may be eaten. From that moment the finder adopts a haughty tone, a magisterial air, a superiority over the other, exactly resembling the bearing of a *nouveau riche* to a dependant in the great world; and the luckless one, with equal readiness, adopts the manners of a sycophant, softens his voice into the pitch of entreaty, looks humbly and fawningly on the favourite of fortune, follows about his arrogant and conceited footsteps, hangs on his glance, becomes, in one word, his obsequious slave, until the partition and devouring of the prize restore them to their original equality.

parents for any thing, which will perhaps be thought to lay too great a curb on the minds of children, to the prejudice of that love and affection which should be between them and their parents; I shall explain myself a little more particularly. It is fit that they should have liberty to declare their wants to their parents, and that with all tenderness they should be hearkened to, and supplied, at least whilst they are very little. But it is one thing to say, I am hungry, another to say, I would have roast meat. Having declared their wants, their natural wants, the pain they feel from hunger, thirst, cold, or any other necessity of nature, it is the duty of their parents, and those about them, to relieve them: but children must leave it to the choice and ordering of their parents, what they think properest for them, and how much; and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would have wine, or white bread; the very naming of it should make them lose it.

107. That which parents should take care of here, is to distinguish between the wants of fancy, and those of nature; which Horace has well taught them to do in this verse:

*Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.*

Those are truly natural wants, which reason alone, without some other help, is not able to fence against, nor keep from disturbing us. The pains of sickness and hurts, hunger, thirst, and cold, want of sleep, and rest or relaxation of the part wearied with labour, are what all men feel, and the

best disposed minds cannot but be sensible of their uneasiness; and therefore ought, by fit applications, to seek their removal, though not with impatience or over great haste, upon the first approaches of them, where delay does not threaten some irreparable harm. The pains that come from the necessities of nature, are monitors to us, to beware of greater mischiefs, which they are the forerunners of; and therefore they must not be wholly neglected, nor strained too far. But yet the more children can be inured to hardships of this kind, by a wise care to make them stronger in body and mind, the better it will be for them. <sup>(51)</sup> I need not here give any caution to keep within the bounds of doing them good, and to take care, that what children are made to suffer, should neither break their spirits, nor injure their health, parents being but too apt of themselves to incline more than they should to the softer side.

But whatever compliance the necessities of nature may require, the wants of fancy children should never be gratified in, nor suffered to mention. The very speaking for any such thing should make them lose it. Clothes, when they need, they must have; but if they speak for this stuff or that colour,

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<sup>(51)</sup> In my forthcoming work on the Institutions and Manners of the Athenians, and the other nations of Greece, the principles of Spartan education, adopted and modified by Locke, will be carefully investigated. Meanwhile, it will be sufficient to observe that military prowess, though not, perhaps, the sole, was the principal object aimed at by Lycurgus, in the training of youth, notwithstanding what some learned men have recently advanced to the contrary.

they should be sure to go without it. Not that I would have parents purposely cross the desires of their children in matters of indifferency; on the contrary, where their carriage deserve it, and one is sure it will not corrupt, or effeminate their minds, and make them fond of trifles, I think all things should be contrived, as much as could be, to their satisfaction, that they may find the ease and pleasure of doing well. The best for children, is, that they should not place any pleasure in such things at all, nor regulate their delight by their fancies, but be indifferent to all that nature has made so. This is what their parents and teachers should chiefly aim at; but till this be obtained, all that I oppose here, is the liberty of asking, which in these things of conceit ought to be restrained by a constant forfeiture annexed to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too severe by the natural indulgence of tender parents; but yet it is no more than necessary: for since the method I propose is to banish the rod, this restraint of their tongues will be of great use to settle that awe we have elsewhere spoken of, and to keep up in them the respect and reverence due to their parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and so master their inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the art of stifling their desires, as soon as they rise up in them, when they are easiest to be subdued. For giving vent, gives life and strength to our appetites; and he that has the confidence to turn his wishes into demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to

obtain them. This, I am sure, every one can more easily bear a denial from himself, than from any body else. They should therefore be accustomed betimes to consult, and make use of their reason before they give allowance to their inclinations. It is a great step towards the mastery of our desires, to give this stop to them, and shut them up in silence. This habit got by children, of staying the forwardness of their fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or not, before they speak, will be of no small advantage to them in matters of greater consequence, in the future course of their lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, that whatever the matter be about which it is conversant, whether great or small, the main (I had almost said only) thing to be considered in every action of a child, is, what influence it will have upon his mind; what habit it tends to, and is like to settle in him; how it will become him when he is bigger; and if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him, when he is grown up.

My meaning therefore is not, that children should purposely be made uneasy. This would relish too much of inhumanity and ill nature, and be apt to infect them with it. They should be brought to deny their appetites; and their minds, as well as bodies, be made vigorous, easy, and strong, by the custom of having their inclinations in subjection, and their bodies exercised with hardships: but all this, without giving them any mark or apprehension of ill will towards them. The constant loss of what they craved, or carved to themselves, should

teach them modesty, submission, and a power to forbear: but the rewarding their modesty, and silence, by giving them what they liked, should also assure them of the love of those who rigorously exacted this obedience. The contenting themselves now in the want of what they wished for, is a virtue, that another time should be rewarded with what is suited and acceptable to them; which should be bestowed on them, as if it were a natural consequence of their good behaviour, and not a bargain about it. But you will lose your labour, and what is more, their love and reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very staunch, and carefully to be watched. And here the servants come again in my way.

108. If this be begun betimes, and they accustom themselves early to silence their desires, this useful habit will settle them; and as they come to grow up in age and discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty, when reason comes to speak in them, and not passion: for whenever reason would speak, it should be hearkened to. But as they should never be heard, when they speak for any particular thing they would have, unless it be first proposed to them; so they should always be heard, and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after any thing they would know, and desire to be informed about. Curiosity should be as carefully cherished in children, as other appetites suppressed. <sup>(52)</sup>

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(<sup>52</sup>) Few things are more difficult than to be able with prudence and delicacy to satisfy the curiosity of children. For,

## RECREATION.

However strict a hand is to be kept upon all desires of fancy, yet there is one case wherein fancy must be permitted to speak, and be hearkened to also. Recreation is as necessary as labour or food. But because there can be no recreation without delight, which depends not always on reason, but oftener on fancy, it must be permitted children not only to divert themselves, but to do it after their own fashion, provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their health; and therefore in this case they should not be denied, if they proposed any particular kind of recreation. Though I think in a well-ordered education, they will seldom be brought to the necessity of asking any such liberty: care should be taken, that what is of advantage to

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though it be certainly a passion which we ought to cherish, numerous occasions will occur, as those conversant with the business of education well know, when you can neither reply to their questions with propriety, nor safely repress their desire of knowledge, but must escape by an evasion, or declare plainly that you possess information above their reach, or which it were dangerous to impart to them. "How is it that the moon hangs, without falling, over yonder hill?" inquires a child of its father. "I cannot now explain it to you, my dear; for you would not understand me." This appeared to be the best answer; but mark the unfavourable conclusion immediately drawn by the young querist. "Won't you explain it to me, because you don't know, papa?" From this inference of ignorance to contempt the passage is easy. Children must, therefore, be impressed with the idea that their minds are weak, and incapable of receiving certain kinds of knowledge, for which they must wait till years confer greater strength upon their judgment.

them, they should always do with delight; and before they are wearied with one, they should be timely diverted to some other useful employment. But if they are not yet brought to that degree of perfection, that one way of improvement can be made a recreation to them, they must be let loose to the childish play they fancy; which they should be weaned from, by being made to surfeit of it: but from things of use, that they are employed in, they should always be sent away with an appetite, at least be dismissed before they are tired, and grow quite sick of it, <sup>(53)</sup> that so they may return to it again, as to a pleasure that diverts them. For you must never think them set right, till they can find delight in the practice of laudable things; and the useful exercises of the body and mind, taking their turns, make their lives and improvements pleasant in a continued train of recreations, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved and refreshed. Whether this can be done in every temper, or whether tutors and parents will be at the pains, and have the discretion and patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in most children, if a right course be taken to raise in them the desire of credit, esteem, and reputation, I do

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(<sup>53</sup>) This is an error into which teachers and parents too commonly fall, from not reflecting how far less valuable it is to do much than to do well. Speaking of bodily exercises, Isocrates remarks, that in order to benefit your health, you should cease before you are overcome by fatigue. *Τούτου ὅαν ἐπιτύχοις, εἰ λήγοις τῶν πόνοιων ἔτι πονεῖν δυνάμενος.* (*Ad Demonic.* §. 6') And exactly the same thing is true of mental labour.

not at all doubt. And when they have so much true life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what most delights them, and be directed, or let loose to it; so that they may perceive that they are beloved and cherished, and that those under whose tuition they are, are not enemies to their satisfaction. Such a management will make them in love with the hand that directs them, and the virtue they are directed to.

This farther advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their recreations, that it will discover their natural tempers, show their inclinations and aptitudes, and thereby direct wise parents in the choice, both of the course of life, and employment they shall design them for, and of fit remedies, in the meantime, to be applied to whatever bent of nature they may observe most likely to mislead any of their children.

109. 2. Children who live together, often strive for mastery, whose wills shall carry it over the rest; whoever begins the contest, should be sure to be crossed in it. But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the deference, complaisance, and civility one for another imaginable. This, when they see it procures them respect, love and esteem, and that they lose no superiority by it, they will take more pleasure in, than in insolent domineering; for so plainly is the other.

The accusations of children one against another, which usually are but the clamours of anger and revenge desiring aid, should not be favourably received, nor hearkened to. It weakens and effemi-

nates their minds to suffer them to complain ; and if they endure sometimes crossing, or pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn sufferance, and harden them early. But though you give no countenance to the complaints of the querulous, yet take care to curb the insolence and ill nature of the injurious. When you observe it yourself, reprove it before the injured party : but if the complaint be of something really worth your notice, and prevention another time, then reprove the offender by himself alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask pardon, and make reparation : which coming thus, as it were from himself, will be the more cheerfully performed, and more kindly received, the love strengthened between them, and a custom of civility grow familiar amongst your children.

110. 3. As to the having and possessing of things, teach them to part with what they have easily and freely to their friends, and let them find by experience that the most liberal has always the most plenty, with esteem and commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practise it. This, I imagine, will make brothers and sisters kinder and civiler to one another, and consequently to others, than twenty rules about good manners, with which children are ordinarily perplexed and cumbered. Covetousness, and the desire of having in our possession, and under our dominion, more than we have need of, being the root of all evil, should be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary

quality, of a readiness to impart to others, implanted. <sup>(54)</sup> 'This should be encouraged by great commendation and credit, and constantly taking care that he loses nothing by his liberality. Let all the instances he gives of such freeness be always repaid, and with interest; and let him sensibly perceive, that the kindness he shows to others, is no ill husbandry for himself; but that it brings a return of kindness both from those that receive it and those who look on. Make this a contest among children, who shall outdo one another this way: and by this means, by a constant practice, children having made it easy to themselves to part with what they have, good nature may be settled in them into a habit, and they may take pleasure, and pique themselves in being kind, liberal, and civil to others.

If liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great care is to be taken that children transgress not the rules of justice: and whenever they do, they should be set right, and if there be occasion for it, severely rebuked.

Our first actions being guided more by self-love

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(<sup>54</sup>) Antiquity has transmitted to us a noble saying of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, of which Erasmus gives the following version:—"Ptolemæus Lagi filius plerumque apud amicos et cœnare solet et dormire. Quòd si quando illos vicissim acciperet cœna, amicorum rebus utebatur, commodato sumens ab illis pocula, aulæa et mensas. Ipse verò sibi non parabat plura quàm exigeret necessitas, sed *regalius esse dicebat ditare, quàm divitem esse.*"—(*Apophthegm.* l. v. p. 350.) The sentiment is still more beautifully expressed in the New Testament: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

than reason or reflection, it is no wonder that in children they should be very apt to deviate from the just measures of right and wrong; which are in the mind the result of improved reason, and serious meditation. This, the more they are apt to mistake, the more careful guard ought to be kept over them, and every the least slip in this great social virtue taken notice of, and rectified; and that in things of the least weight and moment, both to instruct their ignorance, and prevent ill habits; which from small beginnings in pins and cherry-stones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher frauds, and be in danger to end at last in downright hardened dishonesty. The first tendency to any injustice that appears, must be suppressed with a show of wonder and abhorrence in the parents and governors. But because children cannot well comprehend what injustice is, till they understand property, and how particular persons come by it, the safest way to secure honesty, is to lay the foundations of it early in liberality, and an easiness to part with to others whatever they have or like themselves. This may be taught them early, before they have language and understanding enough to form distinct notions of property, and to know what is theirs by a peculiar right, exclusive of others. And since children seldom have any thing but by gift, and that for the most part from their parents, they may be at first taught not to take or keep any thing but what is given them by those whom they take to have a power over it. And as their capacities enlarge, other rules and cases of

justice, and rights concerning *meum* and *tuum*, may be proposed and inculcated. If any act of injustice in them appears to proceed, not from mistake, but a perverseness in their wills, when a gentle rebuke and shame will not reform this irregular and covetous inclination, rougher remedies must be applied: and it is but for the father or tutor to take and keep from them something that they value and think their own, or order somebody else to do it; and by such instances, make them sensible what little advantage they are like to make by possessing themselves unjustly of what is another's, whilst there are in the world stronger and more men than they. But if an ingenuous detestation of this shameful vice be but carefully and early instilled into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine method to obviate this crime, and will be a better guard against dishonesty than any considerations drawn from interest; habits working more constantly, and with greater facility, than reason, which, when we have most need of it, is seldom fairly consulted, and more rarely obeyed.

## CRYING.

III. Crying is a fault that should not be tolerated in children; not only for the unpleasant and unbecoming noise it fills the house with, but for more considerable reasons, in reference to the children themselves: which is to be our aim in education.

Their crying is of two sorts; either stubborn and domineering, or querulous and whining.

1. Their crying is very often a striving for mastery, and an open declaration of their insolence or obstinacy; when they have not the power to obtain their desire, they will, by their clamour and sobbing, maintain their title and right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their claim and a sort of remonstrance against the oppression and injustice of those who deny them what they have a mind to.

112. 2. Sometimes their crying is the effect of pain, or true sorrow, and a bemoaning themselves under it.

These two, if carefully observed, may, by the mien, looks, actions, and particularly by the tone of their crying, be easily distinguished; but neither of them must be suffered, much less encouraged.

1. The obstinate, or stomachful crying, should by no means be permitted, because it is but another way of flattering their desires, and encouraging those passions which it is our main business to subdue: and if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any correction, it quite defeats all the good effects of it; for any chastisement which leaves them in this declared opposition, only serves to make them worse. The restraints and punishments laid on children are all misapplied and lost, as far as they do not prevail over their wills, teach them to submit their passions, and make their minds supple and pliant to what their parent's reason advises them now, and so prepare them to obey what their own reason shall advise hereafter. But if in any thing wherein they are crossed, they may

be suffered to go away crying, they confirm themselves in their desires, and cherish the ill humour, with a declaration of their right, and a resolution to satisfy their inclination the first opportunity. This therefore is another argument against the frequent use of blows: for, whenever you come to that extremity it is not enough to whip or beat them, you must do it till you find you have subdued their minds, till with submission and patience they yield to the correction; which you shall best discover by their crying, and their ceasing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of children is but a passionate tyranny over them; and it is mere cruelty, and not correction, to put their bodies in pain, without doing their minds any good. As this gives us a reason why children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so. For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without passion, soberly, and yet effectually too, laying on the blows and smart not furiously, and all at once, but slowly, with reasoning between, and with observation how it wrought, stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielding; they would seldom need the like punishment again, being made careful to avoid the fault that deserved it. Besides, by this means, as the punishment would not be lost for being too little, and not effectual, so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceived that it reached the mind, and that it was bettered. For since the chiding or beating of children should be always the least that possibly may

be, that which is laid on in the heat of anger, seldom observes the measure, but is commonly more than it should be, though it proves less than enough.

113. 2. Many children are apt to cry, upon any little pain they suffer, and the least harm that befalls them, put them into complaints and bawling. This few children avoid : for it being the first and natural way to declare their suffering or wants, before they can speak, the compassion that is thought due to that tender age foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak. It is the duty, I confess, of those about children, to compassionate them, whenever they suffer any hurt ; but not to show it in pitying them. Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them. This softens their minds, and makes them yield to the little harms that happen to them ; whereby they sink deeper into that part, which alone feels, and make larger wounds there, than otherwise they would. They should be hardened against all sufferings, especially of the body, and have no tenderness but what rises from an ingenuous shame, and a quick sense of reputation. The many inconveniences this life is exposed to, require we should not be too sensible of every little hurt. What our minds yield not to makes but a slight impression, and does us but very little harm. It is the suffering of our spirits, that gives and continues the pain. This brawniness and insensibility of mind, is the best armour we can have against the common evils and accidents

of life ; and being a temper that is to be got by exercise and custom, more than any other way, the practice of it should be begun betimes ; and happy is he that is taught it early. That effeminacy of spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing that I know so much increases in children as crying ; so nothing, on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hindered from that sort of complaining. In the little harms they suffer from knocks and falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but bid do so again ; which besides that it stops their crying, is a better way to cure their heedlessness, and prevent their tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But, let the hurts they receive be what they will, stop their crying, and that will give them more quiet and ease at present, and harden them for the future.

114. The former sort of crying requires severity to silence it ; and where a look, or a positive command will not do it, blows must : for it proceeding from pride, obstinacy, and stomach, the will, where the fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a rigour sufficient to master it. But this latter being ordinarily from softness of mind, a quite contrary cause, ought to be treated with a gentler hand. Persuasion, or diverting the thoughts another way, or laughing at their whining, may perhaps be at first the proper method : but for this, the circumstances of the thing, and the particular temper of the child, must be considered. No certain unvariable rules can be given about

it ; but it must be left to the prudence of the parents or tutor. But this, I think, I may say in general, that there should be a constant discountenancing of this sort of crying also ; and that the father, by his authority, should always stop it, mixing a greater degree of roughness in his looks or words, proportionably as the child is of a greater age, or a sturdier temper : but always let it be enough to silence their whimpering, and put an end to the disorder.

113. Cowardice and courage are so nearly related to the fore-mentioned tempers, that it may not be amiss here to take notice of them. Fear is a passion, that, if rightly governed, has its use. And though self-love seldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an excess on the daring side. Fool-hardiness and insensibility of danger, being as little reasonable, as trembling and shrinking at the approach of every little evil. Fear was given us as a monitor to quicken our industry, and keep us upon our guard against the approaches of evil ; and therefore to have no apprehension of mischief at hand, not to make a just estimate of the danger, but heedlessly to run into it, be the hazard what it will, without considering of what use or consequence it may be, is not the resolution of a rational creature, but brutish fury. Those who have children of this temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their reason, which self-preservation will quickly dispose them to hearken to, unless (which is usually the case) some other passion hurries them on head-

long, without sense, and without consideration. A dislike of evil is so natural to mankind, that nobody, I think, can be without fear of it : fear being nothing but an uneasiness under the apprehension of that coming upon us which we dislike. And therefore, whenever any one runs into danger, we may say, it is under the conduct of ignorance, or the command of some more imperious passion, nobody being so much an enemy to himself, as to come within the reach of evil, out of free choice, and court danger for danger's sake. If it be therefore pride, vain-glory, or rage, that silences a child's fear, or makes him not hearken to its advice, those are by fit means to be abated, that a little consideration may allay his heat, and make him bethink himself, whether this attempt be worth the venture. But this being a fault that children are not so often guilty of, I shall not be more particular in its cure. Weakness of spirit is the more common defect, and therefore will require the greater care.

## FORTITUDE.

Fortitude is the guard and support of the other virtues; and without courage a man will scarce keep steady to his duty, and fill up the character of a truly worthy man.

Courage, that makes us bear up against dangers that we fear, and evils that we feel, is of great use in an estate, as ours is in this life, exposed to assaults on all hands : and therefore it is very advisable to get children into this armour as early as we can. Natural temper, I confess, does here a

great deal : but even where that is defective, and the heart is in itself weak and timorous, it may, by a right management, be brought to a better resolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking children's spirits by frightful apprehensions instilled into them when young, or bemoaning themselves under every little suffering, I have already taken notice ; how to harden their tempers, and raise their courage, if we find them too much subject to fear, is farther to be considered.

True fortitude, I take to be the quiet possession of a man's self, and an undisturbed doing his duty, whatever evil besets, or danger lies in his way. This there are so few men attain to, that we are not to expect it from children. But yet something may be done : and a wise conduct by insensible degrees may carry them farther than one expects.

The neglect of this great care of them, whilst they are young, is the reason, perhaps, why there are so few that have this virtue in its full latitude, when they are men. <sup>(55)</sup> I should not say this in a nation so naturally brave, as ours is, did I think that true fortitude required nothing but courage in the field, and contempt of life in the face of an enemy. This, I confess, is not the least part of it, nor can be denied the laurels and honours always justly due to the valour of those who venture their lives for their country. But yet this is not all.

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(55) Men often face the enemy boldly in the field, who, at home, would quail before a sneer or a frown from their superiors ; but this is merely a species of cowardice, arising from the want of that fortitude which a good education confers.

Dangers attack us in other places, besides the field of battle ; and though death be the king of terrors, yet pain, disgrace and poverty have frightful looks, able to discompose most men, whom they seem ready to seize on : and there are those who condemn some of these, and yet are heartily frightened with the other. True fortitude is prepared for dangers of all kinds, and unmoved, whatsoever evil it be that threatens. I do not mean unmoved with any fear at all. Where danger shows itself, apprehension cannot, without stupidity, be wanting : where danger is, sense of danger should be ; and so much fear as should keep us awake, and excite our attention, industry, and vigour, but not disturb the calm use of our reason, nor hinder the execution of what that dictates.

## COWARDICE.

The first step to get this noble and manly steadiness, is, what I have above mentioned, carefully to keep children from frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful apprehensions be talked into them, nor terrible objects surprise them. This often so shatters and discomposes the spirit, that they never recover it again ; but during their whole life, upon the first suggestion or appearance of any terrifying idea, are scattered and confounded ; the body is enervated, and the mind disturbed, and the man scarce himself, or capable of any composed or rational action. Whether this be from an habitual motion of the animal spirits, introduced by the first strong impression, or from the

alteration of the constitution by some more unaccountable way, this is certain, that so it is. Instances of such who in a weak timorous mind, have borne, all their whole lives through, the effects of a fright when they were young, are everywhere to be seen, and therefore as much as may be to be prevented. (<sup>56</sup>)

The next thing is by gentle degrees to accustom children to those things they are too much afraid of. But here great caution is to be used, that you do not make too much haste, nor attempt this cure too early, for fear lest you increase the mischief instead of remedying it. Little ones in arms may be easily kept out of the way of terrifying objects, and till they can talk and understand what is said to them, are scarce capable of that reasoning and discourse, which should be used, to let them know there is no harm in those frightful objects, which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpose, by gentle degrees bring nearer and nearer to them. And therefore it is seldom there is

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(<sup>56</sup>) St. Paul speaks contemptuously of those who through fear of death are all their life-time subject to bondage; and many, through a much less fear, spend a life of almost constant apprehension of evil. Aversion and fear, as Hobbes distinctly shows, spring from the same root: "when the object displeaseth, it is called *aversion*, in respect of the displeasure present; but in respect of the displeasure expected, *fear*."—(*Treatise on Human Nature*, chap. vii. §. 2.) They, therefore, who foster the antipathies, the irrational dislikes, the perverse idiosyncracies of children, voluntarily enfeeble their minds, and lay them open to every species of unfounded apprehensions of future displeasure, or uneasiness, which we usually denominate fear.

need of any application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it should happen that infants should have taken offence at any thing which cannot be easily kept out of their way, and that they show marks of terror as often as it comes in sight; all the allays of fright, by diverting their thoughts, or mixing<sup>7</sup> pleasant and agreeable appearances with it, must be used, till it be grown familiar and inoffensive to them.

I think we may observe, that, when children are first born, all objects of sight, that do not hurt the eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a Blackamoor or a lion, than of their nurse or a cat. (<sup>57</sup>) What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of shape and colour, comes to affright them? Nothing but the apprehensions of harm that accompanies those things. Did a child suck every day a new nurse, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the change of faces at six months old, than at sixty. The reason then why it will not come to a stranger, is, because having been accustomed to receive its food and kind usage only from one or two, that are about it, the child apprehends, by coming into the arms of a stranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment supplies its wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the nurse is away.

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(<sup>57</sup>) This arises from the same cause that makes some men foolhardy, viz. ignorance. By habit, however, this ignorance might be made the mother of much useful wisdom.

The only thing we are naturally afraid of is pain, or loss of pleasure. And because these are not annexed to any shape, colour, or size of visible objects, we are frightened with none of them, till either we have felt pain from them, or have notions put into us that they will do us harm. The pleasant brightness and lustre of flame and fire, so delights children, that at first they always desire to be handling of it : <sup>(55)</sup> but when constant experience has convinced them, by the exquisite pains it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the ground of fear, it is not hard to find whence it arises, and how it is to be cured in all mistaken objects of terror. And when the mind is confirmed against them, and has got a mastery over itself, and its usual fears, in lighter occasions, it is in good preparation to meet more real dangers. Your child shrieks, and runs away at the sight of a frog ; let another catch it, and lay it down at a good distance from him : at first accustom him to look upon it ; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and see it leap without emotion ; then to touch it lightly, when it is held fast in another's

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<sup>(58)</sup> Like the natives of the Philippine islands, who, till the landing of the Spaniards in their country, were, like the most ancient inhabitants of the earth, ignorant of the use of fire ; and when they first saw it kindled, mistook it for a beautiful animal, and put their hands in the flames. Being burned, however, immoderate terror succeeded to immoderate confidence ; and they now fled from it, as from a fearful monster which bit all who approached it.

hand ; and so on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a butterfly, or a sparrow. By the same way any other vain terrors may be removed ; if care be taken, that you go not too fast, and push not the child on to a new degree of assurance, till he be thoroughly confirmed in the former. And thus the young soldier is to be trained on to the warfare of life ; wherein care is to be taken, that more things be not represented as dangerous, than really are so ; and then, that whatever you observe him to be more frightened at than he should, you be sure to toll him on by insensible degrees, till he at last, quitting his fears, masters the difficulty, and comes off with applause. Successes of this kind often repeated, will make him find, that evils are not always so certain, or so great, as our fears represent them ; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be discomposed, dejected, and deterred by fear, where either our credit or duty requires us to go on.

## HARDINESS.

But since the great foundation of fear in children is pain, the way to harden, and fortify children against fear and danger, is to accustom them to suffer pain. This it is possible will be thought, by kind parents, a very unnatural thing towards their children ; and by most, unreasonable, to endeavour to reconcile any one to the sense of pain, by bringing it upon him. It will be said, it may perhaps give the child an aversion for him that makes him suffer ; but can never recom-

mend to him suffering itself. This is a strange method. You will not have children whipped and punished for their faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for tormenting's sake. I doubt not but such objections as these will be made, and I shall be thought inconsistent with myself, or fantastical, in proposing it. I confess, it is a thing to be managed with great discretion, and therefore it falls not out amiss, that it will not be received or relished, but by those who consider well, and look into the reason of things. I would not have children much beaten for their faults, because I would not have them think bodily pain the greatest punishment: and I would have them, when they do well, be sometimes put in pain, for the same reason, that they might be accustomed to bear it, without looking on it as the greatest evil. How much education may reconcile young people to pain and sufferance, the examples of Sparta do sufficiently show: and they, who have once brought themselves not to think bodily pain the greatest of evils, or that which they ought to stand most in fear of, have made no small advance towards virtue. But I am not so foolish to propose the Lacedæmonian discipline in our age, or constitution. <sup>(59)</sup>

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(<sup>59</sup>) Aware of the prejudices of the vulgar, who, dreading the accusation of pedantry, avoid all reference to classical examples, Locke appears to have somewhat dissembled his admiration of Lycurgus's system of education. In many respects, no doubt, it was extremely faulty, as I shall elsewhere have occasion to prove; but in inculcating a patient endurance of corporal suffering no institutions hitherto submitted to the world have been equally successful.

But yet I do say, that inuring children gently to suffer some degrees of pain without shrinking, is a way to gain firmness to their minds, and lay a foundation for courage and resolution, in the future part of their lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themselves, on every little pain they suffer, is the first step to be made. But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

The next thing is, sometimes designedly to put them in pain: but care must be taken, that this be done when the child is in good humour, and satisfied of the goodwill and kindness of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There must no marks of anger, or displeasure, on the one side, nor compassion, or repenting, on the other, go along with it: and it must be sure to be no more than the child can bear, without repining or taking it amiss, or for a punishment. Managed by these degrees, and with such circumstances, I have seen a child run away laughing, with good smart blows of a wand on his back, who would have cried for an unkind word, and been very sensible of the chastisement of a cold look, from the same person. Satisfy a child, by a constant course of your care and kindness, that you perfectly love him, and he may by degrees be accustomed to bear very painful, and rough usage from you, without flinching or complaining: and this we see children do every day in play one with another. The softer you find your child is, the more you are to seek occasions, at fit times, thus to harden him. The great art in

this is, to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by insensible degrees, when you are playing, and in good humour with him, and speaking well of him: and when you have once got him to think himself made amends for his suffering, by the praise which is given him for his courage; when he can take a pride in giving such marks of his manliness, and can prefer the reputation of being brave and stout, to the avoiding a little pain, or the shrinking under it; you need not despair in time, and by the assistance of his growing reason, to master his timorousness, and mend the weakness of his constitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be set upon bolder attempts than his natural temper carries him to, and whenever he is observed to flinch from what one has reason to think he would come off well in, if he had but courage to undertake: that he should be assisted in at first, and by degrees shamed to, till at last practice has given more assurance, and with it a mastery; which must be rewarded with great praise, and the good opinion of others, for his performance. When by these steps he has got resolution enough not to be deterred, from what he ought to do, by the apprehension of danger; when fear does not, in sudden or hazardous occurrences, discompose his mind, set his body a trembling, and make him unfit for action, or run away from it, he has then the courage of a rational creature: and such a hardiness we should endeavour by custom and use to bring children to, as proper occasions come in our way.

## CRUELTY.

116. One thing I have frequently observed in children, that when they have got possession of any poor creature, they are apt to use it ill: they often torment and treat very roughly, young birds, butterflies, and such other poor animals, which fall into their hands, and that with a seeming kind of pleasure.<sup>(60)</sup> This, I think should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such cruelty, they should be taught the contrary usage. For the custom of tormenting and killing of beasts, will, by degrees, harden their minds even towards men; and they, who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate, or benign to those of their own kind.<sup>(61)</sup> Our practice takes notice of this in the exclusion of butchers from juries of life and death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of

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(<sup>60</sup>) It is related that, in order by extreme terror to inculcate salutary lessons of humanity, the court of Areopagus, at Athens, once put to death a boy incorrigibly addicted to indulge in cruelty towards the inferior animals; inferring that, when years should endow him with superior strength, he would exercise the same cruelties towards men. But this was to repress a lesser, by committing a greater crime.

(<sup>61</sup>) In a note to his "Europe during the Middle Ages," Mr. Hallam gives a very curious account of a knight who, in order to inure his son to the shedding of blood, used to make him a present of several prisoners of war, in cutting whose throats he might amuse himself in the court of his father's castle, and thus acquire the habit of killing men with coolness. This is quite in keeping with the general manners of those ferocious knights.

killing, or tormenting any living creature; and be taught not to spoil or destroy any thing, unless it be for the preservation or advantage of some other that is nobler. And truly, if the preservation of all mankind, as much as in him lies, where every one's persuasion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politics, and morality by, the world would be much quieter, and better natured than it is. But to return to our present business; I cannot but commend both the kindness and prudence of a mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her daughters, when any of them desired dogs, squirrels, birds, or any such things, as young girls use to be delighted with: but then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill used. For if they were negligent in their care of them, it was counted a great fault, which often forfeited their possession, or at least they failed not to be rebuked for it; whereby they were early taught diligence and good nature. And indeed, I think people should be accustomed, from their cradles, to be tender to all sensible creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing at all.

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from whom, according to Mr. Nelson Coleridge, modern nations have inherited a knowledge of the "point of honour," of which, he says, the Greeks were wholly ignorant! The true picture of the times of chivalry, given by St. Palaye, leads us to congratulate the Greeks on their ignorance of such principles of honour as prevailed in those most savage and brutal ages, when the women were generally as unchaste as the men were barbarous.

This delight they take in doing of mischief, whereby I mean spoiling of any thing to no purpose, but more especially the pleasure they take to put any thing in pain, that is capable of it, I cannot persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and introduced disposition, a habit borrowed from custom and conversation. People teach children to strike, and laugh, when they hurt, or see harm come to others: and they have the examples of most about them, to confirm them in it. All the entertainment and talk of history is of nothing almost but fighting and killing: and the honour and renown that is bestowed on conquerors (who for the most part are but the great butchers of mankind) <sup>(62)</sup> farther mislead growing youth, who by this means come to think slaughter the laudable business of mankind, and the most heroic of virtues. By these steps unnatural cruelty is planted in us; and what humanity abhors, custom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to honour. Thus, by fashion and opinion, that comes to be a pleasure, which in itself neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied; so as to settle and cherish the con-

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<sup>(62)</sup> Duellists, who still in semibarbarous countries, are treated by the vulgar with a sort of respect, are butchers of mankind on a small scale. Even in our own Parliament House, however, where, if anywhere, we might expect to find a gentlemanly feeling and sound sense, individuals are not wanting who wish to argue with pistols when their knowledge or their intellect fails them. Till this practice becomes extinct, we shall always, in spite of our other social improvements, bear about us marks of the savage, traces of the barbarous race from which we sprung.

trary, and more natural temper of benignity and compassion in the room of it: but still by the same gentle methods which are to be applied to the other two faults before mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreasonable here to add this farther caution, viz. That the mischiefs or harms, that come by play, inadvertency, or ignorance, and were not known to be harms, or designed for mischief's sake, though they may perhaps be sometimes of considerable damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, that whatever miscarriage a child is guilty of, and whatever be the consequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what root it springs from, and what habit it is like to establish: and to that the correction ought to be directed, and the child not to suffer any punishment, for any harm which may have come by his play or inadvertency. The faults to be amended lie in the mind; and if they are such, as either age will cure, or no ill habits will follow from; the present action, whatever displeasing circumstances it may have, is to be passed by, without any animadversions.

117 Another way to instil sentiments of humanity, and to keep them lively in young folks, will be, to accustom them to civility in their language and deportment towards their inferiors and the meaner sort of people, particularly servants. It is not unusual to observe the children in gentlemen's families treat the servants of the house with domineering words, names of contempt, and an

imperious carriage; as if they were of another race and species beneath them.<sup>(63)</sup> Whether ill example, the advantage of fortune, or their natural vanity inspire this haughtiness, it should be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, affable carriage towards the lower ranks of men, placed in the room of it. No part of their superiority will be hereby lost; but the distinction increased, and their authority strengthened; when love in inferiors is joined to outward respect, and an esteem of the person has a share in their submission: and domestics will pay a more ready and cheerful service, when they find themselves not spurned, because fortune has laid them below the level of others, at their master's feet. Children should not be suffered to lose the consideration of human nature, in the shufflings of outward conditions. The more they have, the better humoured they should be taught to be; and the more compassionate and gentle to those of their brethren who are placed lower, and have scantier portions. If they are suffered from their cradles to treat men ill and rudely, because, by their father's title, they think they have a little power over them, at best it is ill-bred, and if care be not taken, will by degrees nurse up their natural pride into an habitual

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(63) They imitate their parents; it being not uncommon among the rich to treat the poor, as if they belonged to a different species. Would the laws permit, we should in our own country see examples of persons who, as they do in Cairo, would beat their dependants to death, for making a mistake in marketing. We have seen poor men sent to the treadmill for singing a song in the streets.

contempt of those beneath them. And where will that probably end, but in oppression and cruelty ? <sup>(64)</sup>

### CURIOSITY.

118. Curiosity in children (which I had occasion just to mention, §. 108,) is but an appetite after knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them not only as a good sign, but as the great instrument Nature has provided, to remove that ignorance they were born with; and which, without this busy inquisitiveness, will make them dull and useless creatures. The ways to encourage it and keep it active and busy, are, I suppose, these following.

1. Not to check or discountenance any enquiries he shall make, nor suffer them to be laughed at; but to answer all his questions, and explain the matter he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as suits the capacity of his age and knowledge. But confound not his understanding with explications or notions that are above it: or with the variety or number of things that are not to his present purpose. Mark what it is his mind aims at in the question, and not what words he expresses it in: and when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his thoughts will enlarge themselves, and how by fit answers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For knowledge is grateful to

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<sup>(64)</sup> This is worthy of being written in letters of gold, and suspended in the drawing-room of every great house.

the understanding, as light to the eyes: <sup>(65)</sup> children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see, that their enquiries are regarded, and that their desire of knowing is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great reason why many children abandon themselves wholly to silly sports, and trifle away all their time insipidly, is, because they have found their curiosity balked, and their enquiries neglected. But had they been treated with more kindness and respect, and their questions answered, as they should, to their satisfaction; I doubt not but they would have taken more pleasure in learning, and improving their knowledge, wherein there would be still newness and variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the same play and playthings.

119. 2. To this serious answering their questions, and informing their understandings in what they desire, as if it were a matter that needed it, should be added some peculiar ways of commendation. Let others, whom they esteem, be told before their faces of the knowledge they have in such and such things; and since we are all, even from our cradles, vain and proud creatures, let their vanity be flattered with things that will do them good; and let their pride set them on work

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(<sup>65</sup>) A beautiful thought, elaborated from the common observation, that knowledge is the light of the mind. Locke is not often figurative or poetical in his language, but when he chooses to give play to his fancy, nothing can be more exquisite than the comparisons he suggests, or the ideas he presents to the mind.

on something which may turn to their advantage. Upon this ground you shall find that there cannot be a greater spur to the attaining what you would have the eldest learn and know himself, than to set him upon teaching it his younger brothers and sisters.

120. 3. As children's inquiries are not to be slighted; so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive deceitful and eluding answers. They easily perceive when they are slighted or deceived; and quickly learn the trick of neglect, dissimulation, and falsehood, which they observe others to make use of. We are not to intrench upon truth in any conversation, but least of all with children; since if we can play false with them, we not only deceive their expectation, and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and teach them the worst of vices. They are travellers newly arrived in a strange country, of which they know nothing; we should therefore make conscience not to mislead them. And though their questions seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answered: for however they may appear to us (to whom they are long since known) inquiries not worth the making; they are of moment to those who are wholly ignorant. Children are strangers to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us: and happy are they who meet with civil people, that will comply with their ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now should be set down in Japan, with all our prudence and knowledge about us, a conceit whereof makes us, perhaps, so apt to slight the thoughts and inquiries of children; should we, I say, be set down in Japan, we should, no doubt (if we would inform ourselves of what is there to be known) ask a thousand questions, which, to a supercilious or inconsiderate Japaner, would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of importance to be resolved; and we should be glad to find a man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our demands, and instruct our ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, children usually ask the common question of a stranger: What is it? Whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the name; and therefore to tell them how it is called is usually the proper answer to that demand. And the next question usually is: What is it for? And to this it should be answered truly and directly: the use of the thing should be told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a purpose, as far as their capacities can comprehend it. And so of any other circumstances they shall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given them all the satisfaction they are capable of: and so leading them by your answers, into farther questions. And perhaps to a grown man, such conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught suggestions of inquisitive children do often offer things, that may

set a considering man's thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learned from the unexpected questions of a child, <sup>(66)</sup> than the discourses of men, who talk in a road, according to the notions they have borrowed, and the prejudices of their education.

121. 4. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their curiosity, by bringing strange and new things in their way, on purpose to engage their inquiry, and give them occasion to inform themselves about them: and if by chance their curiosity leads them to ask, what they should not know; it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, that it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a falsehood, or a frivolous answer.

122. Pertness, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a principle, that seldom accompanies a strong constitution of body, or ripens into a strong judgment of mind. If it were desirable to have a child a more brisk talker, I believe there might ways be found to make him so: but I suppose a wise father had rather that his son should be able and useful, when a man, than pretty company, and a diversion to others, whilst a child:

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<sup>(66)</sup> This is an extremely acute remark, and shows he was well acquainted with the conversation of children, by which the wisest men may frequently profit. It places them in a position which they quitted long before they could register their observations, and enables them, by the help of younger and more unworn eyes, to view things in a light in which they can never, but by such reflection, appear to them.

though if that too were to be considered, I think I may say, there is not so much pleasure to have a child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage therefore his inquisitiveness all you can, by satisfying his demands, and informing his judgment, as far as it is capable. When his reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the credit and commendation of it: and when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laughed at for his mistake, be gently put into the right; and if he show a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care as much as you can, that nobody check this inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him. For when all is done, this, as the highest and most important faculty of our minds, deserves the greatest care and attention in cultivating it: the right improvement, and exercise of our reason being the highest perfection that a man can attain to in this life.

## SAUNTERING.

123. Contrary to this busy inquisitive temper, there is sometimes observable in children, a listless carelessness, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of trifling even at their business. This sauntering humour I look on as one of the worst qualities that can appear in a child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some cases, care must be taken to make a right judgment concerning that trifling at their books or business, which

may sometimes be complained of in a child. Upon the first suspicion a father has, that his son is of a sauntering temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be listless or indifferent in all his actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager. For though we find that he does loiter at his book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his chamber or study run idly away; he must not presently conclude, that this is from a sauntering humour in his temper. It may be childishness, and preferring something to his study, which his thoughts run on: and he dislikes his book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at play, when he is out of his place and time of study, following his own inclinations, and see there whether he be stirring and active; whether he designs any thing, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished what he aimed at, or whether he lazily and listlessly dreams away his time. If this his sloth be only when he is about his book, I think it may be easily cured. If it be in his temper, it will require a little more pains and attention to remedy it.

124. If you are satisfied by his earnestness at play, or any thing else he sets his mind on, in the intervals between his hours of business, that he is not of himself inclined to laziness, but that only want of relish of his book makes him negligent, and sluggish in his application to it; the first step is to try, by talking to him kindly of the folly and

inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his diversion : but be sure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at first, but only these plain reasons in short. If this prevails, you have gained the point in the most desirable way, which is that of reason and kindness. <sup>(67)</sup> If this softer application prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to table, if there be no strangers there, how long he was that day about his business? and if he has not done it, in the time he might be well supposed to have dispatched it, expose and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding, only put on a pretty cold brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his mother, tutor, and all about him do so too. If this work not the effect you desire, then tell him he shall be no longer troubled with a tutor to take care of his education, you will not be at the charge to have him spend his time idly with him; but since he prefers this or that (whatever play he delights in) to his book, that only he shall do; and so in earnest set him to work on his beloved play, and keep him steadily, and in earnest, to it morning and afternoon, till he be fully surfeited, and would, at any rate, change it for some hours at his book again. But when you thus set him his

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<sup>(67)</sup> If being once convinced, children would thenceforward act upon their conviction, it were well. But, like some who are beyond the age of childhood, they require to be convinced of the same thing again and again almost every day; in which consists the principal difficulty of education.

task of play, you must be sure to look after him yourself, or set some body else to do it, that may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I say, yourself look after him; for it is worth the father's while, whatever business he has, to bestow two or three days upon his son, to cure so great a mischief as his sauntering at his business.

125. This is what I propose, if it be idleness, not from his general temper, but a peculiar or acquired aversion to learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish. But though you have your eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the time which he has at his own disposal, yet you must not let him perceive that you or any body else do so: for that may hinder him from following his own inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to prosecute what his head and heart are set upon, he may neglect all other things, which then he relishes not, and so may seem to be idle and listless, when in truth it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your eye or knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this point, the observation must be made when you are out of the way, and he not so much as under the restraint of a suspicion that any body has an eye upon him. In those seasons of perfect freedom, let somebody you can trust, mark how he spends his time, whether he unactively loiters it away, when, without any check, he is left to his own inclination. Thus, by his employment of such times of liberty, you will

easily discern whether it be listlessness in his temper, or aversion to his book, that makes him saunter away his time of study.

126. If some defect in his constitution has cast a damp on his mind, and he be naturally listless and dreaming, this unpromising disposition is none of the easiest to be dealt with, because, generally carrying with it an unconcernedness for the future, it wants the two great springs of action, foresight and desire; which, how to plant and increase, where nature has given a cold and contrary temper, will be the question. As soon as you are satisfied that this is the case, you must carefully enquire whether there be nothing he delights in: inform yourself, what it is he is most pleased with; and if you can find any particular tendency his mind hath, increase it all you can, and make use of that to set him on work, and to excite his industry. If he loves praise, or play, or fine clothes, &c. or, on the other side, dreads pain, disgrace, or your displeasure, &c. whatever it be that he loves most, except it be sloth (for that will never set him on work) let that be made use of to quicken him, and make him bestir himself. For in this listless temper, you are not to fear an excess of appetite (as in all other cases) by cherishing it. <sup>(68)</sup> It is that which you want, and therefore must labour to raise

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<sup>(68)</sup> This, with reference only to a later period of life, is the same principle as that which is so poetically developed in "Cymon and Iphigeneia;" and in the "Story of Baharam Gour, or the Wild Ass," in the "Tales of the Ramad'han."

and increase; for where there is no desire, there will be no industry.

127. If you have not hold enough upon him this way to stir up vigour and activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily labour, whereby he may get a habit of doing something. The keeping him hard to some study were the better way to get him a habit of exercising and applying his mind. But because this is an invisible attention, and nobody can tell when he is, or is not idle at it, you must find bodily employments for him, which he must be constantly busied in, and kept to; and if they have some little hardship and shame in them, it may not be the worse, that they may the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his book. But be sure, when you exchange his book for his other labour, set him such a task, to be done in such a time, as may allow him no opportunity to be idle. Only after you have by this way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his book, you may, upon his dispatching his study within the time set him, give him, as a reward, some respite from his other labour; which you may diminish as you find him grow more and more steady in his application, and, at last wholly take off, when his sauntering at his book is cured.

#### COMPULSION.

128. We formerly observed, that variety and freedom was that that delighted children. and

recommended their plays to them ; and that therefore their book, or any thing we would have them learn, should not be enjoined them as business. This their parents, tutors, and teachers are apt to forget ; and their impatience to have them busied in what is fit for them to do, suffers them not to deceive them into it : but by the repeated injunctions they meet with, children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not. When this mistake has once made his book uneasy to him, the cure is to be applied at the other end. And since it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a play to him, you must take the contrary course : observe what play he is most delighted with ; enjoin that, and make him play so many hours every day, not as a punishment for playing, but as if it were the business required of him. This, if I mistake not, will in a few days make him so weary of his most beloved sport, that he will prefer his book, or any thing, to it, especially if it may redeem him from any part of the task of play which is set him, and he may be suffered to employ some part of the time destined to his task of play, in his book, or such other exercise as is really useful to him. This I at least think a better cure than that forbidding, (which usually increases the desire,) or any other punishment should be made use of to remedy it : for when you have once glutted his appetite (which may safely be done in all things but eating and drinking) and made him surfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a principle of aversion, and you need

not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same thing again.

129. This, I think, is sufficiently evident, that children generally hate to be idle. All the care then is, that their busy humour should be constantly employed in something of use to them; which, if you will attain, you must make what you would have them do, a recreation to them, and not a business. The way to do this, so that they may not perceive you have any hand in it, is this proposed here; viz. to make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoining and making them, under some pretence or other, do it till they are surfeited. For example: does your son play at top and scourge too much? Enjoin him to play so many hours every day, and look that he do it; and you shall see he will quickly be sick of it, and willing to leave it. By this means making the recreations you dislike a business to him, he will of himself with delight betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as rewards for having performed his task in that play which is commanded him. For, if he be ordered every day to whip his top, so long as to make him sufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himself with eagerness to his book, and wish for it, if you promise it him as a reward of having whipped his top lustily, quite out all the time that is set him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their age, find little difference so they may be doing: the esteem they have for one thing above another they borrow from

others ; so that what those about them make to be a reward to them, will really be so. By this art it is in their governor's choice, whether scotch-hoppers shall reward their dancing, or dancing their scotch-hoppers ; whether peg-top, or reading ; playing at trap, or studying the globes, shall be more acceptable and pleasing to them ; all that they desire being to be busy, and busy, as they imagine, in things of their own choice, and which they receive as favours from their parents, or others, for whom they have respect, and with whom they would be in credit. A set of children thus ordered, and kept from the ill examples of others, would all of them, I suppose, with as much earnestness and delight, learn to read, write, and what else one would have them, as others do their ordinary plays : and the eldest being thus entered, and this made the fashion of the place, it would be as impossible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other.

## PLAY-GAMES.

130. Play-things, I think, children should have, and of divers sorts ; but still to be in the custody of their tutors, or somebody else, whereof the child should have in his power but one at once, and should not be suffered to have another but when he restored that. This teaches them betimes to be careful of not losing or spoiling the things they have ; whereas plenty and variety in their own keeping, makes them wanton and careless, and teaches them from the beginning to be squanderers and

wasters. These, I confess, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the care of a governor; but nothing that may form children's minds is to be overlooked<sup>(69)</sup> and neglected, and whatsoever introduces habits, and settles customs in them, deserves the care and attention of their governors, and is not a small thing in its consequences.

One thing more about children's play-things may be worth their parents' care. Though it be agreed they should have of several sorts, yet, I think, they should have none bought for them. This will hinder that great variety they are often over-charged with, which serves only to teach the mind to wander after change and superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually stretching itself after something more still, though it knows not what, and never to be satisfied with what it hath. The court that is made to people of condition in such kind of presents to their children, does the little ones great harm. By it they are taught pride, vanity and covetousness, almost before they can speak: and I have known a young child so distracted with the number and variety of his play-games, that he tired his maid every day to look them over; and was so accustomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? What more? What new thing shall I have? A good introduction to moderate desires, and the ready way to make a contented, happy man!

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<sup>(69)</sup> Here Locke again tacitly refers to the saying of Plato, quoted in a former note, that habit is not a small matter.

How then shall they have the play-games you allow them, if none must be bought for them ? I answer, they should make them themselves, or at least endeavour it, and set themselves about it ; till then they should have none, and till then they will want none of any great artifice. A smooth pebble, a piece of paper, the mother's bunch of keys, or any thing they cannot hurt themselves with, serves as much to divert little children, as those more chargeable and curious toys from the shops, which are presently put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of humour for want of such play-things, unless they have been used to them : when they are little, whatever occurs serves the turn ; and as they grow bigger, if they are not stored by the expensive folly of others, they will make them themselves. Indeed, when they once begin to set themselves to work about any of their inventions, they should be taught and assisted ; but should have nothing whilst they lazily sit still, expecting to be furnished from other hands, without employing their own. And if you help them where they are at a stand, it will more endear you to them than any chargeable toys you shall buy for them. Play-things which are above their skill to make, as tops, gigs, battledores, and the like, which are to be used with labour, should indeed be procured them. These it is convenient they should have, not for variety, but exercise ; but these too should be given them as bare as might be. If they had a top, the scourge-stick and leather-strap should be left to their own making and fitting. If

they sit gaping to have such things drop into their mouths, they should go without them. This will accustom them to seek for what they want, in themselves, and in their own endeavours; whereby they will be taught moderation in their desires, application, industry, thought, contrivance, and good husbandry; qualities that will be useful to them when they are men, and therefore cannot be learned too soon, nor fixed too deep. All the plays and diversions of children should be directed towards good useful habits, or else they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves some impression on that tender age, and from thence they receive a tendency to good or evil: and whatever hath such an influence, ought not to be neglected.

## LYING.

131. Lying is so ready and cheap a cover for any miscarriage, and so much in fashion among all sorts of people, that a child can hardly avoid observing the use which is made of it on all occasions, and so can scarce be kept, without great care, from getting into it. But it is so ill a quality, and the mother of so many ill ones that spawn from it, and take shelter under it, that a child should be brought up in the greatest abhorrence of it imaginable. It should be always (when occasionally it comes to be mentioned) spoke of before him with the utmost detestation, as a quality so wholly inconsistent with the name and character of a gentleman, that nobody of any credit can bear the imputation of a lie; a mark that is judged

the utmost disgrace, which debases a man to the lowest degree of a shameful meanness, and ranks him with the most contemptible part of mankind, and the abhorred rascality; and is not to be endured in any one who would converse with people of condition, or have any esteem or reputation in the world. The first time he is found in a lie, it should rather be wondered at as a monstrous thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary fault. If that keeps him not from relapsing, the next time he must be sharply rebuked, and fall into the state of great displeasure of his father and mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this way work not the cure, you must come to blows; for after he has been thus warned, a premeditated lie must always be looked upon as obstinacy, and never be permitted to escape unpunished.

132. Children, afraid to have their faults seen in their naked colours, will, like the rest of the sons of Adam, be apt to make excuses. This is a fault usually bordering upon, and leading to untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet it ought to be cured rather with shame than roughness. If therefore, when a child is questioned for any thing, his first answer be an excuse, warn him soberly to tell the truth; and then if he persists to shuffle it off with a falsehood, he must be chastised: but if he directly confess, you must commend his ingenuousness, and pardon the fault, be it what it will; and pardon it so, that you never so much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: for if you would have him in love with ingenuousness, and by a

constant practice make it habitual to him, you must take care that it never procure him the least inconvenience ; but on the contrary, his own confession bringing always with it perfect impunity, should be besides encouraged by some marks of approbation. If his excuse be such at any time that you cannot prove it to have any falsehood in it, let it pass for true, and be sure not to show any suspicion of it. Let him keep up his reputation with you as high as is possible : for when once he finds he has lost that, you have lost a great, and your best hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the character of a liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus some slips in truth may be overlooked. But after he has once been corrected for a lie, you must be sure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him that he is guilty of it : for it being a fault which he has been forbid, and may, unless he be wilful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect perverseness, and must have the chastisement due to that offence.

133. This is what I have thought concerning the general method of educating a young gentleman ; which, though I am apt to suppose may have some influence on the whole course of his education, yet I am far from imagining it contains all those particulars which his growing years or peculiar temper may require. But this being premised in general, we shall, in the next place, descend to a more particular consideration of the several parts of his education.

134. That which every gentleman (that takes any care of his education) desires for his son, besides the estate he leaves him, is contained (I suppose) in these four things, virtue, wisdom, breeding, and learning. I will not trouble myself whether these names do not some of them sometimes stand for the same thing, or really include one another. It serves my turn here to follow the popular use of these words, which I presume, is clear enough to make me be understood, and I hope there will be no difficulty to comprehend my meaning.

135. I place virtue as the first and most necessary of those endowments, that belong to a man or a gentleman; as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other world.

136. As the foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted on his mind a true notion of God, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things. <sup>(70)</sup> And consequent to this, instil into him a love and reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to

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(70) In the Introductory Essay to Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, it is observed, that "not even Plato himself, who placed all true happiness in the knowledge of God, was ever more intimately convinced of the truths of religion, or more thoroughly imbued with its divine spirit, than the author of the

explain this matter any farther; for fear lest by talking too early to him of spirits, and being unseasonably forward to make him understand the incomprehensible nature of that infinite Being, his head be either filled with false, or perplexed with unintelligible notions of him. Let him only be told upon occasion, that God made and governs all things, hears and sees every thing, and does all manner of good to those that love and obey him; you will find, that being told of such a God, other thoughts will be apt to rise up fast enough in his mind about him: which as you observe them to have any mistakes, you must set right. And I think it would be better, if men generally rested in such an idea of God, without being too curious in their notions about a Being, which all must acknowledge incomprehensible; whereby many, who have not strength and clearness of thought, to distinguish between what they can and what they cannot know, run themselves into superstition or atheism, making God like themselves, or (because they cannot comprehend any thing else) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping children constantly morning and evening to acts of devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preserver and Benefactor, in some plain and short form of prayer, suitable to their age and capacity, will be of much

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“Essay on the Human Understanding.”—(*Sacred Classics*, vol. xxv. p. 22.) And here, and everywhere throughout his works, the same devout disposition makes itself felt, opening a way for whatever follows into the mind of the reader; for genuine piety is always loved, in the same proportion as hypocrisy is detested.

more use to them in religion, knowledge, and virtue, than to distract their thoughts with curious enquiries into his inscrutable essence and being.

### SPIRITS AND GOBLINS.

137. Having by gentle degrees, as you find him capable of it, settled such an idea of God in his mind, and taught him to pray to him, and praise him as the Author of his being, and of all the good he does or can enjoy; forbear any discourse of other spirits, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occasion hereafter to be set down, and his reading the scripture-history, put him upon that enquiry.

138. But even then, and always whilst he is young, be sure to preserve his tender mind from all impressions and notions of spirits and goblins, or any fearful apprehensions in the dark.<sup>(71)</sup> This he will be in danger of from the indiscretion of servants whose usual method is to awe children, and keep them in subjection, by telling them of Raw-head and Bloody-bones, and such other names, as carry with them the ideas of something terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the dark. This must be

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(71) You may teach a child not to be overcome by the fear of hobgoblins; but preserve him from believing in them you cannot, where he must inevitably be surrounded by persons who themselves believe. Indeed, a diligent study of the prevailing notions of men on this subject in all ages and countries, would probably convince us that the belief is not to be at all eradicated, though modified by religion and government it may be.

carefully prevented : for though by this foolish way, they may keep them from little faults, yet the remedy is much worse than the disease ; and there are stamped upon their imaginations ideas, that follow them with terror and affrightment. Such bug-bear thoughts, once got into the tender minds of children, and being set on with a strong impression, from the dread that accompanies such apprehensions, sink deep, and fasten themselves so as not easily, if ever to be got out again ; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange visions, making children dastards when alone, and afraid of their shadows and darkness all their lives after. I have had those complain to me, when men, who had been thus used when young ; that though their reason corrected the wrong ideas they had taken in, and they were satisfied, that there was no cause to fear invisible beings more in the dark than in the light, yet that these notions were apt still upon any occasion to start up first in their prepossessed fancies, and not to be removed without some pains. <sup>(72)</sup> And to let you see, how lasting and frightful

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<sup>(72)</sup> In fact, this belief, when once it has taken possession of the mind, is not to be removed at all. For, in the first place, reason itself teaches us to fear in the dark, since in whatever direction we move, our steps may lead us among hurtful things, which, because we cannot see them, it is impossible we should avoid. All beings are then invisible ; and our dread of spirits clothed with matter, which by experience we know have power to harm, very easily in imaginative persons superinduces the instinctive apprehension of spirits not so clothed, of which indeed they know nothing, but for that reason fear the more.

images are, that take place in the mind early, I shall here tell you a pretty remarkable but true story. There was in a town in the west, a man of a disturbed brain, whom the boys used to teaze, when he came in their way : this fellow one day seeing in the street one of those lads, that used to vex him, stepped into a cutler's shop he was near, and there seizing on a naked sword, made after the boy ; who seeing him coming so armed, betook himself to his feet, and ran for his life, and by good luck, had strength and heels enough to reach his father's house, before the madman could get up to him. The door was only latched ; and when he had the latch in his hand, he turned about his head, to see how near his pursuer was, who was at the entrance of the porch with his sword up, ready to strike, and he had just time to get in and clap to the door to avoid the blow, which, though his body escaped, his mind did not. This frightening idea made so deep an impression there, that it lasted many years, if not all his life after. For, telling this story when he was a man, he said, that after that time till then, he never went in at that door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever business he had in his head, or how little soever, before he came thither, he thought of this madman.

If children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the dark, than in broad sunshine : they would in their turns as much welcome the one for sleep, as the other to play in. There should be no distinction made to them, by any discourse, of

more danger, or terrible things in the one than the other: but if the folly of any one about them should do them this harm, and make them think there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you must get it out of their minds as soon as you can; and let them know that God, who made all things good for them, made the night that they might sleep the better and the quieter; and that they being under his protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good spirits, is to be deferred till the time we shall hereafter mention; and of evil spirits, it will be well if you can keep him from wrong fancies about them, till he is ripe for that sort of knowledge.

#### TRUTH AND GOOD-NATURE.

139. Having laid the foundations of virtue in a true notion of a God, such as the creed wisely teaches, as far as his age is capable, and by accustoming him to pray to him; the next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to speaking of truth, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be good-natured. Let him know that twenty faults are sooner to be forgiven, than the straining of truth, to cover any one by an excuse. And to teach him betimes to love, and be good-natured to others, is to lay early the true foundation of an honest man: all injustice generally springing from too great love of ourselves, and too little of others.

This is all I shall say of this matter in general,

and is enough for laying the first foundations of virtue in a child: as he grows up, the tendency of his natural inclination must be observed; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or the other side, from the right path of virtue, ought to have proper remedies applied. For few of Adam's children are so happy, as not to be born with some bias in their natural temper, which it is the business of education either to take off, or counterbalance. But to enter into particulars of this, would be beyond the design of this short Treatise of Education. I intend not to discourse of all the virtues and vices, how each virtue is to be attained, and every particular vice by its peculiar remedies cured: though I have mentioned some of the most ordinary faults, and the ways to be used in correcting them.

## WISDOM.

140. Wisdom I take, in the popular acceptance, for a man's managing his business ably, and with foresight, in this world. This is the product of a good natural temper, application of mind, and experience together, and so above the reach of children. The greatest thing in them that can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being cunning; which, being the ape of wisdom, is the most distant from it that can be: and, as an ape for the likeness it has to a man, wanting what really should make him so, is by so much the uglier. Cunning is only the want of understanding, which

because it cannot compass its ends by direct ways, would do it by a trick, and circumvention; and the mischief of it is, a cunning trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either so big, or so fine as to hide itself. Nobody was ever so cunning as to conceal their being so: and when they are once discovered, every body is shy, every body distrustful of crafty men; and all the world forwardly join to oppose and defeat them: whilst the open, fair, wise man, has every body to make way for him, and goes directly to his business. To accustom a child to have true notions of things, and not to be satisfied till he has them: to raise his mind to great and worthy thoughts, and to keep him at a distance from falsehood and cunning; which has always a broad mixture of falsehood in it; is the fittest preparation of a child for wisdom. The rest, which is to be learned from time, experience, and observation, and an acquaintance with men, their tempers, and designs, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of childhood, or the inconsiderate heat and unwariness of youth: all that can be done towards it, during this unripe age, is, as I have said, to accustom them to truth and sincerity; to a submission to reason; and as much as may be, to reflection on their own actions.

#### GOOD-BREEDING.

141. The next good quality belonging to a gentleman, is good-breeding. There are two sorts of ill-breeding: the one a sheepish bashfulness; and

the other a misbecoming negligence and disrespect in our carriage; both which are avoided by duly observing this one rule, not to think meanly of ourselves, and not to think meanly of others.

142. The first part of this rule must not be understood in opposition to humility, but to assurance. We ought not to think so well of ourselves, as to stand upon our own value; and assume to ourselves a preference before others, because of any advantage, we may imagine, we have over them; but modestly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think so well of ourselves, as to perform those actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without discomposure or disorder, in whose presence soever we are; keeping that respect and distance, which is due to every one's rank and quality. There is often in people, especially children, a clownish shamefacedness before strangers, or those above them: they are confounded in their thoughts, words, and looks; and so lose themselves, in that confusion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at least not do with that freedom and gracefulness, which pleases, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other miscarriage, is by use to introduce the contrary habit. But since we cannot accustom ourselves to converse with strangers, and persons of quality, without being in their company, nothing can cure this part of ill-breeding, but change and variety of company, and that of persons above us.

143. As the before-mentioned consists in too great a concern how to behave ourselves towards

others; so the other part of ill-breeding, lies in the appearance of too little care of pleasing, or showing respect to those we have to do with. To avoid this, these two things are requisite: first, a disposition of the mind not to offend others; and, secondly, the most acceptable, and agreeable way of expressing that disposition. From the one, men are called civil; from the other well-fashioned. The latter of these is that decency and gracefulness of looks, voice, words, motions, gestures, and of all the whole outward demeanor, which takes in company, and makes those with whom we may converse, easy and well pleased. This is, as it were, the language whereby that internal civility of the mind is expressed; which, as other languages are, being very much governed by the fashion and custom of every country, must, in the rules and practice of it, be learned chiefly from observation, and the carriage of those who are allowed to be exactly well bred. The other part, which lies deeper than the outside, is that general good-will and regard for all people, which makes any one have a care not to show, in his carriage, any contempt, disrespect, or neglect of them; but to express, according to the fashion and way of that country, a respect and value for them, according to their rank and condition. It is a disposition of the mind that shows itself in the carriage, whereby a man avoids making any one uneasy in conversation.

I shall take notice of four qualities that are most directly opposite to this first, and most taking of all the social virtues, and from some one of these four it is that incivility commonly has its rise. I

shall set them down, that children may be preserved or recovered from their ill influence.

1. The first is, a natural roughness, which makes a man uncomplaisant to others, so that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. It is the sure badge of a clown, not to mind what pleases or displeases those he is with; and yet one may often find a man in fashionable clothes, give an unbounded swing to his humour, and suffer it to jostle or overrun any one that stands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a brutality that every one sees and abhors, and nobody can be easy with: and therefore this finds no place in any one who would be thought to have the least tincture of good-breeding. For the very end and business of good-breeding, is to supply the natural stiffness, and so soften men's tempers, that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.

2. Contempt, or want of due respect, discovered either in looks, words, or gesture: this, from whomsoever it comes, brings always uneasiness with it. For nobody can contentedly bear being slighted.

3. Censoriousness, and finding fault with others, has a direct opposition to civility. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults displayed, and set in open view and broad daylight, before their own or other people's eyes. Blemishes affixed to any one always carry shame with them: and the discovery, or even bare imputation of any defect, is not borne without some

uneasiness. <sup>(73)</sup> Raillery is the most refined way of exposing the faults of others : but, because it is usually done with wit and good language, and gives entertainment to the company, people are led into a mistake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it. And so the pleasantry of this sort of conversation often introduces it amongst people of the better rank ; and such talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the bystanders on their side. But they ought to consider, that the entertainment of the rest of the company is at the cost of that one who is set out in their burlesque colours, who therefore is not without uneasiness, unless the subject for which he is rallied, be really in itself matter of commendation. For then the pleasant images and representations, which make the raillery, carrying praise as well as sport with them, the rallied person also finds his account, and takes part in the diversion. But because the right management of so nice and ticklish a business, wherein a little slip may spoil all, is not every body's talent, <sup>(74)</sup> I think those who would secure themselves from provoking others, especially all

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<sup>(73)</sup> Awkward censurers, besides being regarded with aversion and hatred, are despised ; for they exhibit a disposition without the power to wound. But, when most skilful, are invariably, even by those whom their malignity amuses, beheld with dislike. Homer describes the Greeks laughing at the sarcasms of Thersites, yet greatly pleased when he is beaten for them by Ulysses.

<sup>(74)</sup> Locke was himself distinguished among his contemporaries for the dextrous and delicate management of raillery, as *Le Clerc*, who knew him personally, vouches. But this rare gift is

young people, should carefully abstain from rail-lery, which, by a small mistake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the mind of those who are made uneasy by it, the lasting memory of having been picquantly though wittily, taunted for something censurable in them.

Besides rail-lery, contradiction is a sort of censoriousness, wherein ill-breeding often shows itself. Complaisance does not require that we should always admit all the reasonings or relations that the company is entertained with, no, nor silently to let pass all that is vented in our hearing. The opposing the opinions, and rectifying the mistakes of others, is what truth and charity sometimes requires of us, and civility does not oppose, if it be done with due caution and care of circumstances. But there are some people that one may observe, possessed as it were, with the spirit of contradiction, that steadily, and without regard to right or wrong, oppose some one, or perhaps, every one of the company, whatever they say. This is so visible and outrageous a way of censuring, that nobody can avoid thinking himself injured by it. All opposition to what another man has said, is so apt to be suspected of censoriousness, and is so seldom received without some sort of humiliation, <sup>(75)</sup> that

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in all cases a dangerous one—so dangerous, indeed, that he who best can wield it, might perhaps find, did he diligently consider, that he never in any instance derived real advantage from the possession of it.

<sup>(75)</sup> Cicero, (*De Claris Oratoribus*, c. lxvii. §. 236,) describes, in M. Piso, a man of rare abilities who, probably through some

it ought to be made in the gentlest manner, and softest words that can be found, and such as with the whole deportment may express no forwardness to contradict. All marks of respect and good-will ought to accompany it, that whilst we gain the argument, we may not lose the esteem of those that hear us.

4. Captiousness is another fault opposite to civility; not only because it often produces misbecoming and provoking expressions, and carriage; but because it is a tacit accusation and reproach of some incivility taken notice of in those whom we are angry with. Such a suspicion or intimation cannot be borne by any one without uneasiness. Besides, one angry body discomposes the whole company, and the harmony ceases upon any such jarring.

The happiness that all men so steadily pursue, consisting in pleasure, it is easy to see why the civil are more acceptable than the useful. <sup>(76)</sup> The

defect in his education, was through life incapable of tolerating the absurdities of mankind, and thus marred the prospects his eloquence and knowledge promised in his early youth to open out before him. His impatience may have partly arisen, however, from the infirm state of his health. "*Is laborem, quasi cursum, forensem diutius non tulit, quòd et corpore erat infirmo, et hominum ineptias ac stultitias, quæ devorandæ nobis sunt, non ferebat, iracundiùsque respuebat, sive morosè, ut putabatur, sive ingenuo, liberoque fastidio. Is quum satis floruisset adolescens, minor haberi est cæptus postea.*" Those who would succeed, as men of the world, must no doubt devour much folly and stupidity; and, what is much worse, appear to be amused by it. Censorious and sarcastic men, though ever so able, make more eneuiques than admirers.

<sup>(76)</sup> Hence, frivolous persons are often preferred to their supe-

ability, sincerity, and good intention of a man of weight and worth, or a real friend, seldom atones for the uneasiness that is produced by his grave and solid representations. Power and riches, nay virtue itself, are valued only as conducing to our happiness. And therefore he recommends himself ill to another, as aiming at his happiness, who, in the services he does him, makes him uneasy in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make those he converses with easy, without debasing himself to low and servile flattery, has found the true art of living in the world, and being both welcome and valued everywhere. Civility therefore is what, in the first place, should with great care be made habitual to children and young people.

144. There is another fault in good manners, and that is excess of ceremony, and an obstinate persisting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without folly or shame. This seems rather a design to expose than oblige: or at least looks like a contest for mastery, and at best is but troublesome, and so can be no part of good-breeding, which has no other use or end, but to make people easy and satisfied in their conversation with us. This is a fault

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riors. For, when occasion serves, they will unhesitatingly descend to the most servile flattery; seldom speaking disagreeable truths, unless to the poor and unfortunate. That praise however is always suspicious which is repaid with a dinner; though the rich Amphitryon is nevertheless easily satisfied with what flatters his vanity:

“ But, if a lord once own the happy lines,  
How the wit brightens, how the sense refines !”

few young people are apt to fall into: but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are suspected to incline that way, they should be told of it, and warned of this mistaken civility. The thing they should endeavour and aim at in conversation, should be to show respect, esteem, and goodwill, by paying to every one that common ceremony and regard which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a suspicion of flattery, dissimulation, or meanness, is a great skill, which good sense, reason, and good company, can only teach; but is of so much use in civil life, that it is well worth the studying.

145. Though the managing ourselves well in this part of our behaviour has the name of good-breeding, as if peculiarly the effect of education; yet, as I have said, young children should not be much perplexed about it; I mean, about putting off their hats, and making legs modishly. Teach them humility, and to be good-natured, if you can, and this sort of manners will not be wanting; civility being, in truth, nothing but a care not to show any slighting, or contempt of any one in conversation. What are the most allowed and esteemed ways of expressing this, we have above observed. It is as peculiar and different, in several countries of the world, as their languages; and therefore, if it be rightly considered, rules and discourses made to children about it, are as useless and impertinent as it would be now and then to give a rule or two of the Spanish tongue, to one that converses only with Englishmen. Be as busy as you please with dis-

courses of civility to your son, such as is his company, such will be his manners. A ploughman of your neighbourhood, that has never been out of his parish, read what lectures you please to him, will be as soon in his language as his carriage, a courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite than those he uses to converse with: and therefore of this no other care can be taken, till he be of an age to have a tutor put to him, who must not fail to be a well-bred man. And, in good earnest, if I were to speak my mind freely, so children do nothing out of obstinacy, pride, and ill-nature, it is no great matter how they put off their hats, or make legs. If you can teach them to love and respect other people, they will, as their age requires it, find ways to express it acceptably to every one, according to the fashions they have been used to: and as to their motions and carriage of their bodies, a dancing-master, as has been said, when it is fit, will teach them what is most becoming. In the meantime, when they are young, people expect not that children should be over-mindful of these ceremonies; carelessness is allowed to that age, and becomes them as well as compliments do grown people: or, at least, if some very nice people will think it a fault, I am sure it is a fault that should be overlooked, and left to time, a tutor, and conversation to cure. And therefore I think it not worth your while to have your son (as I often see children are) molested or chid about it: but where there is pride or ill-nature appearing in his car-

riage, there he must be persuaded or shamed out of it.

Though children, when little, should not be much perplexed with rules and ceremonious parts of breeding, yet there is a sort of unmannerliness very apt to grow with young people, if not early restrained, and that is a forwardness to interrupt others that are speaking; and to stop them with some contradiction. Whether the custom of disputing, and the reputation of parts and learning usually given to it, as if it were the only standard and evidence of knowledge, make young men so forward to watch occasions to correct others in their discourse, and not to slip any opportunity of showing their talents; so it is, that I have found scholars most blamed in this point. There cannot be a greater rudeness, than to interrupt another in the current of his discourse; for if there be not impertinent folly in answering a man before we know what he will say, yet it is a plain declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer, <sup>(77)</sup> and have a disesteem of what he says; which we judg-

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<sup>(77)</sup> This is a mistake. We may love to hear him talk, and have every disposition to profit by his remarks; but, if it is expected of us to reply to what he says, we may very rationally desire him to break off, for a moment, to allow of our asking an explanation, or expressing our dissent from something he advances, which the shortness of our memory, or the unreasonable length of his harangue, might render it difficult for us to retain till he shall have done speaking. None, in fact, but a sophist, would require those with whom he converses to listen in silence to his remarks.

ing not fit to entertain the company, desire them to give audience to us, who have something to produce worth their attention. This shows a very great disrespect, and cannot but be offensive : and yet, this is what almost all interruption constantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is usual, a correcting of any mistake, or a contradiction of what has been said, it is a mark of yet greater pride and self-conceitedness, when we thus intrude ourselves for teachers, and take upon us, either to set another right in his story, or show the mistakes of his judgment.

I do not say this, that I think there should be no difference of opinions in conversation, nor opposition in men's discourses: this would be to take away the greatest advantage of society, and the improvements which are to be made by ingenious company ; where the light is to be got from the opposite arguings of men of parts, showing the different sides of things ; and their various aspects, and probabilities, would be quite lost, if every one were obliged to assent to, and say after the first speaker. It is not the owning one's dissent from another, that I speak against, but the manner of doing it. Young men should be taught not to be forward to interpose their opinions, unless asked, or when others have done and are silent, and then only by way of inquiry, not instruction. The positive asserting, and the magisterial air should be avoided ; and when a general pause of the whole company affords an opportunity, they may modestly put in their question as learners.

This becoming decency will not cloud their parts nor weaken the strength of their reason; but bespeak the more favourable attention, and give what they say the greater advantage. An ill argument, or ordinary observation, thus introduced, with some civil preface of deference and respect to the opinions of others, will procure them more credit and esteem, than the sharpest wit, or profoundest science, with a rough, insolent, or noisy management, which always shocks the hearers, and leaves an ill opinion of the man, though he get the better of it in the argument.

This therefore should be carefully watched in young people, stopped in the beginning, and the contrary habit introduced in all their conversation. And the rather, because forwardness to talk, frequent interruptions in arguing, and loud wrangling are too often observable amongst grown people, even of rank amongst us. <sup>(78)</sup> The Indians, whom we call barbarous, observe much more decency and civility in their discourses and conversation, giving one another a fair silent hearing, till they have quite done; and then answering them calmly, and

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<sup>(78)</sup> The French, whom we accustom ourselves to consider a polite and refined people, are greatly addicted to speak three or four at a time; and foreigners generally are more prone than ourselves to this fault. But, in reality, wherever men have had any original ideas to put forward, or imagined they have, the same disposition has manifested itself; for at Athens, where politeness was carried farther than it has been anywhere else, the same practice, as we learn from the Gorgias, was quite common, and led to the same results.

without noise or passion. <sup>(79)</sup> And if it be not so in this civilized part of the world, we must impute it to a neglect in education, which has not yet reformed this ancient piece of barbarity amongst us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining spectacle, to see two ladies of quality accidentally seated on the opposite sides of a room, set round with company, fall into a dispute, and grow so eager in it, that in the heat of the controversy, edging by degrees their chairs forwards, they were in a little time got close up to one another in the middle of the room; where they for a good while managed the dispute as fiercely as two game-cocks in the pit, without minding or taking any notice of the circle, which, could not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a person of quality, who was present at the combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the indecencies, that warmth in dispute often runs people into; which since custom makes too frequent, education should take the more care

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<sup>(79)</sup> For this calmness of the Indians, which, however, in many cases, is imaginary, several causes might be assigned, unconnected with education, or the superior discipline of the passions. First, the fewness of their ideas renders them less eager to engage in debate; secondly, the same sluggishness of intellect which keeps them savages is favourable to coolness in council; but, more than all, there is, among such people, whose excellencies all lie in the handling of a tomahawk or a javelin, no reputation or distinction to be gained by readiness in conversation, which is therefore seldom or never acquired. Elsewhere, it must be admitted, the same effect is produced by different causes. The young Arab, as soon as he knows he has a tongue, is taught to consider it a prime virtue to keep that tongue in subjection; he, moreover, from a very early age associates with old men, whom

of. There is nobody but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves; and many who are sensible of it in themselves, and resolve against it, cannot yet get rid of an ill custom, which neglect in their education has suffered to settle into a habit.

146. What has been above said concerning company, would perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger prospect, and let us see how much farther its influence reaches. It is not the modes of civility alone, that are imprinted by conversation: the tincture of company sinks deeper than the outside; and possibly, if a true estimate were made of the morality and religions of the world, we should find, that the far greater part of mankind received even those opinions and ceremonies they would die for, rather from the fashions of their countries, and the constant practice of those about them, than from any conviction of their reasons. I mention this only to let you see of what moment, I think, company is to your son, in all the parts of his life, and therefore how much

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long experience has rendered cool, and from them, by the force of example, learns how to subdue the fire of his temperament, and watch the advantages which second thoughts are supposed to give. Among the Japanese, too, the same prudence and self-possession are said to be found, even during boyhood. "C'est une chose admirable que de voir la retenue et la sagesse qu'ont les enfans" dès l'age de douze et même de sept ans. Ils se comportent déjà, ils parlent et ils répondent comme des hommes faits, et d'une toute autre manière que ne font les nôtres."—(*Voyage de Hagenaar*, p. 376.) But in all these pictures something must be allowed for the author's desire to shame his countrymen into good behaviour, like Tacitus in his Germania, by attributing superior virtues even to barbarians.

that one part is to be weighed, and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do beside.

## LEARNING.

147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put learning last, especially if I tell you I think it the least part.<sup>(50)</sup> This may seem strange in the mouth of a bookish man; and this making usually the chief, if not only bustle and stir about children, this being almost that alone, which is thought on, when people talk of education, makes it the greater paradox. When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as a language or two to be its whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to

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<sup>(50)</sup> To speak candidly, I consider this a piece of affectation unworthy of Locke, and inconsistent with what is elsewhere found in his works. A man's manners, and many even of his virtues, have reference more to others than himself; but learning is the furniture of his own mind, the source from which, in various circumstances of life, he must derive that employment for his intellect, without which no man, however virtuous, can be happy. If, indeed, he means to confound learning with Greek and Latin, as there is some reason from what follows to infer, he may be nearer the mark, but only by misapplying the word "learning," which surely means something beyond a mere acquaintance with those two languages.

get a language or two, which I think might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in play ?<sup>(81)</sup>

Forgive me therefore, if I say, I cannot with patience think, that a young gentleman should be put into the herd, and be driven with a whip and scourge, as if he were to run the gauntlet through the several classes, *ad capiendum ingenii cultum*. What then, say you, would you not have him write and read ? Shall he be more ignorant than the clerk of our parish, who takes Hopkins and Sternhold for the best poets in the world, whom yet he makes worse than they are, by his ill reading ? Not so, not so fast, I beseech you. Reading, and writing, and learning, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief business. I imagine you would think him a very foolish fellow, that should not value a virtuous, or a wise man, infinitely before a great scholar. Not but that I think learning a great help to both in well disposed minds ; but yet it must be confessed also, that in others not so

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(81) I fear, that in this way, no language was ever learned, though, if teachers were all wise men, every portion of education might doubtless be rendered no less agreeable to a child than play. In our own day attempts have been made, and are still in many countries making, to render the acquiring of knowledge a sort of play-game ; but we may perhaps in the end discover it to be a very serious thing, a thing cheaply purchased by considerable toil, watching, earnestly continued attention, or, if need be, even by some tears. Better shed them upon the threshold of life, on entering, when, like salutary showers, they may moisten and nourish our better resolutions, and lead to good fruit, than fruitlessly and bitterly, when, with poignant regret for misspent hours, we are about to quit it for ever.

disposed, it helps them only to be the more foolish, or worse men. I say this, that when you consider of the breeding of your son, and are looking out for a schoolmaster, or a tutor, you would not have (as is usual) Latin and logic only in your thoughts. Learning must be had, but in the second place, as subservient only to greater qualities. Seek out somebody, that may know how discreetly to frame his manners: place him in hands where you may, as much as possible, secure his innocence, cherish and nurse up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and settle in him good habits. This is the main point, and this being provided for, learning may be had into the bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by methods that may be thought on.

## READING.

148. When he can talk, it is time he should begin to learn to read. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again, what is very apt to be forgotten, viz. that great care is to be taken, that it be never made as a business to him, nor he look on it as a task. We naturally, as I said, even from our cradles, love liberty, and have therefore an aversion to many things, for no other reason, but because they are enjoined us. I have always had a fancy, that learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing something

else; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, that amongst the Portuguese, it is so much a fashion, and emulation, amongst their children, to learn to read and write, that they cannot hinder them from it: they will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a friend's house, whose younger son, a child in coats, was not easily brought to his book, (being taught to read at home by his mother,) I advised to try another way than requiring it of him as his duty; we therefore, in a discourse on purpose amongst ourselves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, <sup>(62)</sup> that it was the privilege and advantage of heirs and elder brothers, to be scholars; that this made them fine gentlemen, and beloved by every body: and that for

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(<sup>62</sup>) Here the philosopher furnishes us with an example of how inconsistent and imperfect are even the wisest and best men. For, in the teeth of all he had said, in the former part of the work, in praise of truth, and of the paramount importance of inculcating a profound respect for it in youth, we find him in this passage aiming at carrying a desirable point by falsehood—doing evil that good might come. At the same time there may, perhaps, be found, among the sticklers for the rights of primogeniture, many who in earnest advocate this truly Gothic idea, which was evidently a favourite notion with our old friend Jaques de Bois. So much, at least, may be inferred from the complaint of Orlando, who says:—"He lets me feed with his hinds, bars me the place of a brother, and, as much as in him lies, *mines* my gentility with my education." And again, addressing the patron of primogeniture himself: "You have trained me up like a peasant, obscuring and hiding me from all gentlemanlike qualities."—(*As You Like It*, Act i. sc. 1.)

younger brothers, it was a favour to admit them to breeding; to be taught to read and write, was more than came to their share; they might be ignorant bumkins and clowns, if they pleased. This so wrought upon the child, that afterwards he desired to be taught; would come himself to his mother to learn, and would not let his maid be quiet till she heard him his lesson. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other children; and when their tempers are found, some thoughts be instilled into them, that might set them upon desiring of learning themselves, and make them seek it, as another sort of play or recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be dice and play-things, with the letters on them, to teach children the alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular tempers, to make this kind of learning a sport to them.

149. Thus children may be cozened into a knowledge of the letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a sport, and play themselves into that which others are whipped for. Children should not have any thing like work, or serious, laid on them; neither their minds, nor bodies will bear it. It injures their healths; and their being forced and tied down to their books in an age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason, why a great many have hated books and learning all their lives after.

It is like a surfeit, that leaves an aversion behind not to be removed. <sup>(63)</sup>

150. I have therefore thought, that if play-things were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, contrivances might be made to teach children to read, whilst they thought they were only playing. For example, what if an ivory ball were made like that of the Royal-oak lottery, with thirty-two sides, or one rather of twenty-four, or twenty-five sides; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but these four letters, or perhaps only two at first; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and so on, till each side having one letter, there be on it the whole alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of play to lay a stake who shall first throw an A or B, as who

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(63) This is a good reason why children should not too early be forced to toil at the acquisition of learning, but none in the world for practising his method, which never yet, I am persuaded, enabled any one to obtain a thorough knowledge of anything. To force the intellects of children, is, if possible, still more dangerous than forcing their bodies; yet every person who should see the burden of a man placed on a boy's shoulders would immediately exclaim against the cruelty of it. Vanity, however, often blinds parents to the wickedness of their conduct. They desire to be thought the relatives of infant prodigies, and generally live to see them consigned to an early tomb; or, if they survive, continue infants all their lives. Premature corporeal exertions have the same effect. It is remarked by ancient writers that among the *Athletæ* few obtained the prize in manhood who had won it when boys.—(See, in my work on the *Athenians*, the chapter on the *Græcian Gymnasia*.)

upon dice shall throw six or seven. This being a play amongst you, tempt him not to it, lest you make it business; for I would not have him understand it is any thing but a play of older people, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more reason to think it is a play, that he is sometimes in favour admitted to; when the play is done, the ball should be laid up safe out of his reach, that so it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow stale to him. (<sup>84</sup>)

151. To keep up his eagerness to it, let him think it a game belonging to those above him: and when, by this means, he knows the letters, by changing them into syllables, he may learn to read, without knowing how he did so, and never have any chiding or trouble about it, nor fall out with books, because of the hard usage and vexation they had caused him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of pains to learn several games, which, if they should be enjoined them, they would abhor as a task and business. I know a person of great quality, (more yet to be honoured for his learning and virtue, than for his rank and high place,) who by pasting on the six vowels (for

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(<sup>84</sup>) A taste may by this means be sometimes created which all will acknowledge to be even more pernicious than ignorance; I mean, a taste for gambling. I would tolerate nothing that could possibly familiarize the mind with this *vice* of weak characters; this *fons omnium malorum*; which supplies the base and undisciplined with an odious substitute for the excitement of virtuous action.

in our language Y is one) on the six sides of a die, and the remaining eighteen consonants on the sides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children, that he shall win, who, at one cast, throws most words on these four dice; whereby his eldest son, yet in coats, has played himself into spelling, with great eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

152. I have seen little girls exercise whole hours together, and take abundance of pains to be expert at Dibstones, as they call it; whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good contrivance to make them employ all that industry about something that might be more useful to them; and methinks it is only the fault and negligence of elder people, that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than men; and men are to be blamed if some part of that busy humour be not turned to useful things; which might be made usually as delightful to them as those they are employed in, if men would be but half so forward to lead the way, as these little apes would be to follow. I imagine some wise Portuguese heretofore began this fashion amongst the children of his country, where I have been told, as I said, it is impossible to hinder the children from learning to read and write: and in some parts of France they teach one another to sing and dance from the cradle.

153. The letters pasted upon the sides of the dice, or polygon, were best to be of the size of those of the folio Bible, to begin with, and none

of them capital letters; when once he can read what is printed in such letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: and in the beginning he should not be perplexed with variety. With this die also, you might have a play just like the Royal-Oak, which would be another variety, and play for cherries or apples, &c.

154. Besides these, twenty other plays might be invented, depending on letters, which those who like this way, may easily contrive and get made to this use if they will. But the four dice above mentioned I think so easy and useful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

155. Thus much for learning to read, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a business for him. It is better it be a year later before he can read, than that he should this way get an aversion to learning. If you have any contests with him, let it be in matters of moment, of truth, and good nature; but lay no task on him about A B C. Use your skill to make his will supple and pliant to reason: teach him to love credit and commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by you and his mother, and then the rest will come all easily. But, I think, if you will do that, you must not shackle and tie him up with rules about indifferent matters, nor rebuke him for every little fault, or perhaps some, that to others would seem great ones; but of this I have said enough already.

156. When by these gentle ways he begins to be able to read, some easy pleasant book suited to his capacity, should be put into his hands, wherein the entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his pains in reading, and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly. To this purpose, I think Æsop's fables the best, <sup>(55)</sup> which being stories apt to delight and entertain a

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(<sup>55</sup>) It was one of Rousseau's whims that fables are apt to initiate children in the art of lying; or, as Cowper phrases it, "It was one of the whimsical speculations of this philosopher, that all fables which ascribe reason and speech to animals, should be withheld from children, as being only vehicles of deception." (Note to "Pairing Time Anticipated.") But Rousseau was not always of this opinion: "*Les fictions qui ont un objet moral,*" he observes, "*s'appellent apologues ou fables, et comme leur objet n'est ou ne doit être que d'envelopper des vérités utiles sous de formes sensibles et agréables, en pareil cas on ne s'attache guère à cacher le mensonge de fait qui n'est que l'habit de la vérité, et celui qui ne débite une fable que pour une fable, ne ment en aucune façon.*"—(*Les Réveries du Promeneur Solitaire, Promenade IV. Conf. iii. 76, 77, edit. de Lond. 1786.*) Bdeleycleon, in the "Wasps," is of opinion, that men may derive considerable advantage from fables, especially when having, in their cups, broken doors, or thrown stones at their neighbours, it is requisite to negotiate forgiveness. "You have only to tell them some ludicrous Esopic or Sybaritic fable, which you may have learned at drinking-parties," says he to his father, "and all will go well."

Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον, ἢ Συβαριτικὸν,  
ὧν ἔμαθες ἐν τῷ ξυμποσίῳ.

Σφηκες. 1259.

The Greek Scholiast on this passage makes a distinction between the Esopic and Sybaritic fables, pretending, that while the latter introduced animals speaking, the former employed men only as interlocutors. But this opinion is rejected by most of the modern commentators.—(*Vide Aristoph. Bekk. iii. 613.*)

child, may yet afford useful reflections to a grown man; and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his manly thoughts and serious business. If his *Æsop* has pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of knowledge with it: for such visible objects children hear talked of in vain, and without any satisfaction, whilst they have no ideas of them; those ideas being not to be had from sounds, but from the things themselves, or their pictures. And therefore, I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many pictures of animals should be got him as can be found, with the printed names to them, which at the same time will invite him to read, and afford him matter of inquiry and knowledge. *Reynard the Fox* <sup>(56)</sup> is another book, I

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<sup>(56)</sup> The history of this book is extremely curious. It appears to have been based on the "*Reinardus Vulpes*," an epic poem, supposed to have been written between the ninth and twelfth centuries; and published at Stuttgart, in 1832, with Notes by F. J. Mone. The character of the work evidently well suited the taste of the European nations during the middle ages: for it got early into popularity, and continued to be a favourite down to a very late period, though now "seldom pored on." For interest, however, it is far superior to *Esop*; and, if adapted to the severer taste of the present age, by judicious corrections, I know of no book better calculated to excite a passion for reading in children. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the modification of the story by Heinrich von Alckmar had obtained an European celebrity, and, in 1481, was translated into English by Caxton. His version reads admirably, having little of that stiffness or languor of style discoverable in several of our older writers. It terminates as follows: "if any thing be said or written herein that may grieve or displease any man,

think, may be made use of to the same purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other advantages, add encouragement and delight to his reading, when he finds there is some use and pleasure in it. These baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary method ; and it is usually long before learners find any use or pleasure in reading, which may tempt them to it, and so take books only for fashionable amusements, or impertinent troubles, good for nothing.

157. The Lord's prayer, the creeds, and ten commandments, it is necessary he should learn perfectly by heart ; but, I think, not by reading them himself in his primer, but by somebody's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and learning to read, should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his learning to read should be made as little trouble or business to him as might be.

What other books there are in English of the kind of those above mentioned, fit to engage the liking of children, and tempt them to read, I do not know : but am apt to think, that children,

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blame not me, but the Fox ; for they are his words, and not mine. Praying all them that shall see this little treatise to correct and amend where they shall find fault ; for I have not added ne minished, but have followed as nigh as I can, my copy, which was in Dutch, and by me, William Caxton, translated into this rude and simple English, in the abbey of Westminster. Finished the 6th day of June, the year of our Lord 1481, and the twenty-first year of the reign of king Edward IV. Here endeth the history of Reynard the Fox," &c.

being generally delivered over to the method of schools, where the fear of the rod is to inforce, and not any pleasure of the employment to invite them to learn, this sort of useful books, amongst the number of silly ones that are of all sorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been considered of this kind out of the ordinary road of the horn-book, primer, psalter, Testament, and Bible.

158. As for the Bible, which children are usually employed in to exercise and improve their talent in reading, I think the promiscuous reading of it, though by chapters as they lie in order, is so far from being of any advantage to children, either for the perfecting their reading, or principling their religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what pleasure or encouragement can it be to a child to exercise himself in reading those parts of a book where he understands nothing? And how little are the law of Moses, the Song of Solomon, the prophecies in the Old, and the Epistles and Apocalypse in the New Testament, suited to a child's capacity? And though the History of the Evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier, yet, taken all together, it is very disproportional to the understanding of childhood. I grant, that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the words of the Scripture; yet none should be proposed to a child, but such as are suited to a child's capacity and notions. But it is far from this to read through the whole Bible, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble

of thoughts must a child have in his head, if he have any at all, such as he should have concerning religion, who in his tender age reads all the parts of the Bible indifferently as the word of God, without any other distinction. I am apt to think, that this, in some men, has been the very reason why they never had clear and distinct thoughts of it all their lifetime.

159. And now I am by chance fallen on this subject, give me leave to say, that there are some parts of Scripture which may be proper to be put into the hands of a child to engage him to read; such as are the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliah, of David and Jonathan, <sup>(87)</sup> &c. and others, that he should be made to read for his instruction, as that, what you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them; and such other easy and plain moral rules which being fitly chosen, might often be made use of, both for reading and instruction together; and so often read till they are thoroughly fixed in the memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their turns, on fit occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred rules of his life and actions. But the reading of the whole Scripture indifferently, is what, I think, is very inconvenient for children, till after having been made

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<sup>(87)</sup> This hint has been well followed out in our own times. In fact, if the present age be particularly distinguished for any branch of literature, it is, perhaps, for its excellent elementary works in every department of education; more particularly in that which of all is the most important—religion.

acquainted with the plainest fundamental parts of it, they have got some kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practise; which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very words of the Scripture, and not in such, as men prepossessed by systems and analogies, are apt in this case to make use of, and force upon them. Dr. Worthington, to avoid this, has made a catechism, which has all its answers in precise words of the Scripture; a thing of good example, and such a sound form of words as no Christian can except against, as not fit for his child to learn. Of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments by heart, it may be fit for him to learn a question every day, or every week, as his understanding is able to receive, and his memory to retain them. And when he has this catechism perfectly by heart, so as readily and roundly to answer to any question in the whole book, it may be convenient to lodge in his mind the remaining moral rules scattered up and down in the Bible, as the best exercise of his memory, and that which may be always a rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole conduct of his life.

#### WRITING.

160. When he can read English well, it will be seasonable to enter him in writing: and here the first thing should be taught him, is to hold his pen right; and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffered to put it to paper: for not

only children, but any body else, that would do any thing well, should never be put upon too much of it at once, or be set to perfect themselves in two parts of an action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the Italian way of holding the pen between the thumb and the fore-finger alone, may be best: but in this you should consult some good writing-master, or any other person, who writes well and quick. When he has learned to hold his pen right, in the next place he should learn how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it. These practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble, is to get a plate graved with the characters of such a hand as you like best: but you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a less hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger. Such a plate being graved, let several sheets of good writing-paper be printed off with red ink, which he has nothing to do but go over with a good pen filled with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of those characters, being at first showed where to begin, and how to form every letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair paper; and so may easily be brought to write the hand you desire.

#### DRAWING.

161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the ex-

ercise of his hand in writing, but also to improve the use of it further in drawing; <sup>(88)</sup> a thing very useful to a gentleman in several occasions; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a man often to express, in a few lines well put together, what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man see, how many machines and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be easily retained and communicated by a little skill in drawing; which being committed to words are in danger to be lost, or, at best, but ill retained in the most exact descriptions? I do not mean that I would have your son a perfect painter; to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time than a young gentleman can spare from his other improvements of greater moment. But so much insight into perspective and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper any thing he sees, except faces,

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(88) It is much to be wished that the philosopher's suggestions on this point were universally adopted. Nothing could more certainly tend to create and cherish a correct and elevated taste in the fine arts, because, by multiplying good judges, it would proportionably excite in artists the ambition to excel. Among the Athenians, the only people in whom good taste appeared to be innate, every person of liberal education was taught the arts of design; and hence, in part, their passion for whatever was beautiful, and the unerring judgment they displayed in discriminating the merits of all attempts at imitating it. In the numerous list of instructors whom at Athens it was necessary for the youth to attend, the *Ζωγραφοῦς*, or "drawing-master," occupied the fifth place.—(Vide *Bergman*, not. ad. *Isocrat. Areopag.* §. ιθ'.)

may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a genius to it; but where that is wanting, unless it be in things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose: and therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the rule holds, *Nil invitâ Minervâ*.

### SHORT-HAND.

1. Short-hand, an art, as I have been told, known only in England,<sup>(89)</sup> may perhaps be thought worth the learning, both for dispatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye. For he that has once learned any

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(<sup>89</sup>) In this Locke was certainly misinformed. The art of writing in short-hand (σημειογράφειν) was known both to the Greeks and Romans; and by many writers the honour of inventing it has been attributed to Xenophon. Hanbury, however, in a passage of ludicrous solemnity, contends, that Pythagoras himself was the person who disclosed this important secret to the world; and, after quoting what Cicero has left us on the subject, I shall introduce his remarks. "Introductis in senatum indicibus," he says, "constitui senatores, qui omnia indicum dicta, interrogata, responsa perscriberent. At quos viros! non solùm summâ virtute et fide, cujus generis in senatu facultas maxima; sed etiam quos sciebam memoriâ, scientiâ, consuetudine, et celeritate scribendi, facillimè, quæ dicerentur, persequi posse." (*Pro P. Sulla*. XIV. 41, tom. v. p. 401, edit. Barb.) From this passage Middleton concludes, that stenography was in use at Rome. — (*Life of Cicero*, i. 147.) Mr. Harding (*Introduction to his System of Stenography*, p. 14) refers to another passage of Cicero, (*Ad Attic.* xii. 32,) in which mention is made of this useful art. But his reference is wrong; for in the letter in question no allusion whatever to the subject occurs. This ingenious gentleman

sort of character, may easily vary it to his own private use or fancy, and with more contraction suited to the business he would employ it in. Mr. Rich's, the best contrived of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a master; it will be early enough when any convenient opportunity offers itself, at any time after

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shows, however, that if Locke be mistaken in supposing the English to be the sole possessors of this art, they have at least cultivated it with superior industry; for he enumerates one hundred and eight writers, besides himself, who have treated of the art in our language: from A.D. 1588 to 1828. But to return to Mr. Hanbury: "Who shall refuse," he inquires, "the honour of the invention to the Samian philosopher? Whoever is acquainted with the history of Pythagoras, must concede it to *him*! He who had explored the then world of science; to whom Egypt and Persia revealed their mysteries, and Greece had imparted all her stores of learning; by whom astronomy, geometry, music, and numbers, were made subservient to a cryptical method of promulgating his doctrines by images and symbols:—he, of whom, notwithstanding that it is disputed whether he himself ever committed his philosophical system to writing, yet of whom it is expressly stated, that he was a perfect master of curiologic, tropical, and symbolical modes of writing, and allowed the disciples at a certain stage of advancement, when his prohibition was taken off their *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* (winged words) to take minutes of all his lectures (*quaque accidissent scribere*, inquit Au. Gell. lib. i. c. 9) *ἐν πτερογραφαις*, in winged writing, with secret characters under the semblance of numbers; for, that they might the better apprehend him, he exhibited numbers to his disciples in a way similar to diagrams in geometry. He, the lover of wisdom, ought not to be, *he* must not be passed by, when a compendious method of recording the dictates of wisdom is the subject of investigation!"

his hand is well settled in fair and quick writing. For boys have but little use of short-hand, and should by no means practise it till they write perfectly well, and have thoroughly fixed the habit of doing so.

## FRENCH.

162. As soon as he can speak English, it is time for him to learn some other language. This nobody doubts of, when French is proposed. And the reason is, because people are accustomed to the right way of teaching that language, which is by talking it into children in constant conversation, and not by grammatical rules. The Latin tongue would easily be taught the same way, if his tutor, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him,<sup>(90)</sup> and make him answer

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<sup>(90)</sup> Montaigne, who was taught Latin in the way recommended by Locke, relates, in his lively manner, the history of his initiation in that language. "Latin and Greek," he observes, "are a great and splendid ornament, which commonly, however, is too dearly bought. I shall here describe a method by which they may be more cheaply acquired, and the experiment having been made upon myself, whoever pleases may try it. The expedient was as follows: while I was still mute in the nurse's arms, my father placed me under the care of a German, a learned physician, deeply versed in Latin, and not ignorant of French, who afterwards acquired a great reputation. This man, who had been engaged at a very large salary, had me constantly in his arms. He had also two assistants, less learned indeed, but who spoke Latin, and never in my presence made use of any other language. With regard to the rest of the family, it was an inviolable rule, that neither my father himself, nor my mother, nor my valet, nor my chamber-maid, (*chambriere*) should ever, in my hearing, speak any thing but the few Latin expressions they had

still in the same language. But because French is a living language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learned, that the yet pliant organs of speech might be accustomed to a due formation of those sounds, and he get the habit of pronouncing French well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delayed.

## LATIN.

163. When he can speak and read French well, which in this method is usually in a year or two, he should proceed to Latin, which it is a wonder parents, when they have had the experiment in French, should not think ought to be learned the same way, by talking and reading. Only care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign languages, by speaking and reading

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learned expressly for the purpose of chatting with me. And the progress they all made was remarkable: both my father and mother acquired a competent knowledge of the language, so that, when necessary, they could speak it with tolerable fluency, as did likewise all the domestics engaged more immediately about me. In fact, so far did we Latinize, that the practice by degrees extended to the surrounding villages, where several Roman appellations of tools and artisans took root, and still prevail. For myself, I was six years old before I understood one word more of French, or of the Perigord patois, than I did of Arabic; and thus without method, without book, grammar, or rules, without whipping or tears, I learned as much Latin as my instructors could teach me.”—(*Essais*, l. i. ch. 25.) Montaigne was singularly fortunate in his preceptors, among whom he names Nicolas Grouchi, author of the “*De Comitibus Romanorum* ;” Guillaume Guerente, a commentator of Aristotle; Marco Antonio Mureti; and the celebrated Buchanan. Few princes could in any age command the services of such men.

nothing else with his tutor, that he do not forget to read English, which may be preserved by his mother, or somebody else, hearing him read some chosen parts of the Scripture, or other English books every day.

164. Latin I look upon as absolutely necessary to a gentleman; and indeed custom, which prevails over every thing, has made it so much a part of education, that even those children are whipped to it, and made spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from school, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a father should waste his own money, and his son's time in setting him to learn the Roman language, when at the same time he designs him for a trade, wherein he having no use for Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill usage it procured him? Could it be believed, unless we had everywhere amongst us examples of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good hand, and casting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to most trades indispensably necessary? But though these qualifications, requisite to trade and commerce, and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be had at grammar-schools, yet thither, not only gentlemen send their younger sons, in-

tended for trades, but even tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a question, as if you should ask them, why they go to church. Custom serves for reason, and has, to those who take it for reason, so consecrated this method, that it is almost religiously observed by them, and they stick to it, as if their children had scarce an orthodox education, unless they learned Lilly's grammar.

165. But how necessary soever Latin be to some, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of use or service ; yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar-school is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The reasons against it are so evident, and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent persons, to quit the ordinary road, not without success, though the method made use of was not exactly what I imagine the easiest, and in short is this;—to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin, as English has been, without the perplexity of rules talked into him ; for if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English : and yet he learns English without master, rule, or grammar : and so might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or

two, without any rule of grammar, or any thing else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder, how gentlemen have overseen this way for their sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their daughters.

166. If therefore a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak or read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language, which others are wont to be whipt for at school six or seven years together: but also as that wherein at the same time he might have his mind and manners formed, and he be instructed to boot in several sciences, such as a good part of geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, besides some parts of history, and all other parts of knowledge of things, that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in those things be laid the foundation; and not in the abstract notions of logic and metaphysics, which are fitter to amuse, than inform the understanding, in its first setting out towards knowledge. When young men have had their heads employed a while in those abstract speculations without finding the success and improvement, or that use of them, which they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts, either of learning, or themselves; they are tempted to quit their studies,

and throw away their books, as containing nothing but hard words, and empty sounds; or else to conclude, that if there be any real knowledge in them, they themselves have not understandings capable of it. That this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own experience. Amongst other things to be learned by a young gentleman in this method, whilst others of his age are wholly taken up with Latin and languages, I may also set down geometry for one; having known a young gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several propositions in Euclid, before he was thirteen.

167. But if such a man cannot be got, who speaks good Latin, and being able to instruct your son in all these parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method; the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as *Æsop's* fables, and writing the English translation (made as literal as it can be) in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them, just over it in another.<sup>(91)</sup> These let him read every day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin; and then

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<sup>(91)</sup> This plan has been pursued with considerable perseverance, but apparently, with little success, in our own days; and, if I may judge by the ominous silence of its advocates, the "Interlineary System," seems to be at length abandoned. I have seen it, I think, fairly tried, but never knew any benefit to be derived from it. Good or bad, however, it is a very old invention, and appears to be due to the monks, who probably thus sought, in the darker ages, to abridge the very scanty labours they imposed upon themselves. Lipsius, in the introductory

go on to another fable, till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his memory. And when he comes to write, let these be set him for copies, which with the exercise of his hand, will also advance him in Latin. This being a more imperfect way than by talking Latin unto him; the formation of the verbs first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns perfectly learned by heart, may facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllables. More than this of grammar, I think he need not have till he can read himself *Sanctii Minerva*, with Scioppius and Perizonius's notes.

In teaching of children this too, I think, is to be observed, that in most cases, where they stick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themselves; as by asking such questions as these, (viz.) which is the nominative case? in the sentence they are to construe; or demanding, what *aufero* signifies, to lead them to the

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dialogue to his "Art of Besieging Cities," observes to some citizens of Liege, "Est in urbe vestra liber, olim scriptus, haud longe infra Carolum Magnum, qui Psalterium Davidis Latinum habet, et supra cuique verbo appositam interpretationem nostrate linguâ. Servat eum Arnoldus Wachtendonk, Decanus Collegii D. Martini, vir et bonus pariter et doctus."—(*Lipsi Opera*, tom. iii. p. 469.) So that we find interlineary translation tracing back its genealogy nearly to the times of Charlemagne, and farther than the House of Hapsburgh.

knowledge of what *abstulere* signifies, &c. when they cannot readily tell. This wastes time only in disturbing them; for whilst they are learning, and apply themselves with attention, they are to be kept in good humour, and every thing made easy to them, and as pleasant as possible. Therefore wherever they are at a stand, and are willing to go forwards, help them presently over the difficulty, without any rebuke or chiding; remembering that where harsher ways are taken, they are the effect only of pride and peevishness in the teacher, who expects children should instantly be master of as much as he knows; whereas he should rather consider, that his business is to settle in them habits, not angrily to inculcate rules, which serve for little in the conduct of our lives: at least are of no use to children, who forget them as soon as given. In sciences where their reason is to be exercised, I will not deny, but this method may sometimes be varied, and difficulties proposed on purpose to excite industry, and accustom the mind to employ its own strength and sagacity in reasoning. But yet I guess this is not to be done to children, whilst very young, nor at their entrance upon any sort of knowledge: then every thing of itself is difficult, and the great use and skill of a teacher is to make all as easy as he can: but particularly in learning of languages there is least occasion for posing of children. For languages being to be learned by rote, custom, and memory, are then spoken in greatest perfection, when all rules of grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the grammar of a lan-

guage is sometimes very carefully to be studied, but is only to be studied by a grown man, when he applies himself to the understanding of any language critically, which is seldom the business of any but professed scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a gentleman be to study any language, it ought to be that of his own country, that he may understand the language, which he has constant use of, with the utmost accuracy.

There is yet a further reason, why masters and teachers should raise no difficulties to their scholars; but on the contrary, should smooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them stop. Children's minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head, fills it for the time, especially if set on with any passion. It should therefore be the skill and art of the teacher, to clear their heads of all other thoughts, whilst they are learning of any thing, the better to make room for what he would instil into them, that it may be received with attention and application, without which it leaves no impression. The natural temper of children disposes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satisfied with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural state of childhood for them to fix their fleeting thoughts. Whether this be owing to the temper of their brains, or the quick-

ness or instability of their animal spirits, over which the mind has not yet got a full command ; this is visible, that it is a pain to children to keep their thoughts steady to any thing. A lasting continued attention is one of the hardest tasks can be imposed on them ; and therefore, he that requires their application, should endeavour to make what he proposes as grateful and agreeable as possible ; at least, he ought to take care not to join any displeasing or frightful idea with it. If they come not to their books with some kind of liking and relish, it is no wonder their thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them ; and seek better entertainment in more pleasing objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

It is, I know, the usual method of tutors, to endeavour to procure attention in their scholars, and to fix their minds to the business in hand, by rebukes and corrections, if they find them ever so little wandering. But such treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate words or blows from the tutor fills the child's mind with terror and affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other impressions. I believe there is nobody, that reads this, but may recollect what disorder, hasty or imperious words from his parents or teachers have caused in his thoughts ; how for the time it has turned his brains, so that he scarce knew what was said by or to him. He presently lost the sight of what he was upon, his mind was filled with

disorder and confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of attention to anything else.

It is true, parents and governors ought to settle and establish their authority, by an awe over the minds of those under their tuition; and to rule them by that: but when they have got an ascendant over them, they should use it with great moderation, and not make themselves such scare-crows that their scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an austerity may make their government easy to themselves, but of very little use to their pupils. It is impossible children should learn any thing whilst their thoughts are possessed and disturbed with any passion, especially fear, which makes the strongest impression on their yet tender and weak spirits. Keep the mind in an easy calm temper, when you would have it receive your instructions, or any increase of knowledge. It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper. <sup>(92)</sup>

The great skill of a teacher is to get and keep the attention of his scholar; whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the learner's abilities will carry him; and without that, all his bustle and bother will be to little or no purpose. To attain this, he should make the child comprehend

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(92) This beautiful thought, which rises above the general level of the ideas introduced into the present treatise, awakens a remembrance of the more poetical passages found in the "Essay on the Human Understanding," where a loftier style was perhaps requisite, to allure forward the less ardent and enthusiastic minds.

(as much as may be) the usefulness of what he teaches him, and let him see, by what he has learnt, that he can do something which he could not before; something, which gives him some power and real advantage above others who are ignorant of it. To this he should add sweetness in all his instructions, and by a certain tenderness in his whole carriage, make the child sensible that he loves him, and designs nothing but his good, the only way to beget love in the child, which will make him hearken to his lessons, and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but obstinacy should meet with any imperiousness, or rough usage. All other faults should be corrected with a gentle hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing mind, and even prevent a good deal of that perverseness which rough and imperious usage often produces in well-disposed and generous minds. It is true, obstinacy and wilful neglects must be mastered, even though it cost blows to do it: but I am apt to think perverseness in the pupils is often the effect of frowardness in the tutor; and that most children would seldom have deserved blows, if needless and misapplied roughness had not taught them ill-nature, and given them an aversion for their teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, forgetfulness, unsteadiness, and wandering of thought, are the natural faults of childhood; and therefore, where they are not observed to be wilful, are to be mentioned softly, and

gained upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces anger and rating, the occasions of rebuke and corrections would return so often, that the tutor will be a constant terror and uneasiness to his pupils; which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his lessons, and to defeat all his methods of instructions.

Let the awe he has got upon their minds be so tempered with the constant marks of tenderness and good-will, that affection may spur them to their duty, and make them find a pleasure in complying with his dictates. This will bring them with satisfaction to their tutor; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their friend, that cherishes them, and takes pains for their good: this will keep their thoughts easy and free whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the mind is capable of receiving new informations, and of admitting into itself those impressions, which, if not taken and retained, all that they and their teacher do together is lost labour; there is much uneasiness and little learning.

168. When by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin or Eutropius: and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself, if he please, with the English Translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well

considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man who does not speak English or Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue of course, without thought of rule, or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that tongue, that any one can learn, or speak as he should do, by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident, and the common use of the people. And he that will speak them well, has no other rule but that; nor any thing to trust to, but his memory, and the habit of speaking after the fashion learned from those, that are allowed to speak properly, which in other words is only to speak by rote.

It will possibly be asked here, is grammar then of no use? and have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several languages to rules and observations; who have writ so much about declensions and conjugations, about concords and syntaxis, lost their labour, and been learned to no purpose? I say not so; grammar has its place too. But this I think I may say, there is more stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong; I mean children at the age wherein they are usually perplexed with it in grammar-schools.

There is nothing more evident, than that languages learned by rote serve well enough for the common affairs of life and ordinary commerce. Nay, persons of quality of the softer sex, and such of them as have spent their time in well-bred company, show us, that this plain natural way, without the least study or knowledge of grammar, can carry them to a great degree of elegance and politeness in their language: and there are ladies who, without knowing what tenses and participles, adverbs and prepositions are, speak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill compliment if I said as any country schoolmaster) as most gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary methods of grammar-schools. Grammar therefore we see may be spared in some cases. The question then will be, to whom should it be taught, and when? To this I answer;

1. Men learn languages for the ordinary intercourse of society and communication of thoughts in common life, without any farther design in the use of them. And for this purpose, the original way of learning a language by conversation, not only serves well enough, but is to be preferred as the most expedite, proper and natural. Therefore, to this use of language one may answer, that grammar is not necessary. This so many of my readers must be forced to allow, as understand what I here say, and who conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the grammar of the English tongue. Which I suppose

is the case of incomparably the greatest part of Englishmen, of whom I have never yet known any one who learned his mother-tongue by rules.

2. Others there are, the greatest part of whose business in this world, is to be done with their tongues, and with their pens; and to these it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds the more easily, and with the greater impression.<sup>(93)</sup> Upon this account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a gentleman.<sup>(94)</sup> He ought to study gram-

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<sup>(93)</sup> Here, Locke appears fully sensible of how important it is to be able, when occasion requires, to arrange and express with facility and dignity the ideas we possess, and would engraft upon the minds of others. How this may best be done he does not appear to have always perceived with equal clearness; for, in the "Essay on the Human Understanding," (book iii. ch. 10,) he treats figurative expressions as an abuse of language, though undoubtedly nothing enables a man so completely to transfer truth from his own mind to another's as metaphorical composition. But, whoever observes what he reads must smile at the philosopher's declamation against tropes and figures, when in the very threshold of the next chapter he finds him enveloped in metaphors. "Language being *the great conduit*, whereby men convey their discoveries, reasonings, and knowledge from one to another; he that makes an ill use of it, though he does not corrupt the fountains of knowledge, which are in things themselves; yet he does, as much as in him lies, break or stop *the pipes*, whereby it is distributed to the public use and advantage of mankind." What, in the same chapter, he says on the choice of words, deserves to be treasured up in every man's memory: "Propriety of speech is that which gives our thoughts entrance into other men's minds with the greatest ease and advantage."

<sup>(94)</sup> Cicero observes, "It is not enough that your language is

mar amongst the other helps of speaking well, but it must be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely, and speak it properly, without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to, with solecisms and offensive irregularities. And to this purpose grammar is necessary; but it is the grammar only of their own proper tongues, and to those only who would take pains in cultivating their language, and in perfecting their styles. Whether all gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the want of propriety and grammatical exactness, is thought very misbecoming one of that rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such faults, the censure of having had a lower breeding and worse company than suits with his quality. If this be so, (as I suppose it is,) it will be matter of wonder why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages, and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues: they do not so much as know there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. <sup>(95)</sup> Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as

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Latin—it must be elegant.” But with many of our public speakers we should be content if what they uttered were English; less than Cicero required would satisfy us, though it might not be “thought enough for a gentleman.”

<sup>(95)</sup> In this particular we are perhaps improved; at least, we have attempted improvement, which is something. English grammar is now taught in our public schools, and with the more effect because combined with the grammar of other languages, more strictly regular, though not richer than our own.

worthy their care and cultivating, though they have daily use of it, and are not seldom, in the future course of their lives, judged of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages, whose grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if, upon occasion, this should happen, they shall be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chinese, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, and (which amongst us are called the) learned languages, make them their study, and pique themselves upon their skill in them. No doubt, those who propose to themselves the learning of any language with this view, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to study the grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin. I grant these are languages of great use and excellency, and a man can have no place amongst the learned in this part of the world, who is a stranger to them. But the knowledge a gentleman would ordinarily draw for his use out of the Roman and Greek writers, I think he may attain without studying the grammars of those tongues, and by bare read-

ing, may come to understand them sufficiently for all his purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the grammar and critical niceties of either of these tongues, he himself will be able to determine when he comes to propose to himself the study of any thing that shall require it. Which brings me to the other part of the enquiry, viz.

*When Grammar should be taught?*

To which, upon the premised grounds, the answer is obvious, viz.

That if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already ;<sup>(96)</sup> how else can he be taught the grammar of it ? This at least is evident from the practice of the wise and learned nations amongst the ancients. They made it a part of education to cultivate their own, not foreign tongues. The Greeks counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And though the Greek learning grew in credit amongst the Romans, towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the study of their youth ;

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<sup>(96)</sup> This was the method pursued by Gibbon in learning Greek. He first acquired, through reading, a knowledge of the meaning of words, and had then recourse to the grammar to discover the philosophical construction of the language ; which he compares to examining the map of a country over which he had already travelled. For my own part, I have always, in travelling both over languages and countries, found a map exceedingly useful by the way.

their own language they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own language they were instructed and exercised in.

But, more particularly to determine the proper season for grammar, I do not see how it can reasonably be made any one's study, but as an introduction to rhetoric; when it is thought time to put any one upon the care of polishing his tongue, and of speaking better than the illiterate, then is the time for him to be instructed in the rules of grammar, and not before. For grammar being to teach men not to speak, but to speak correctly, and according to the exact rules of the tongue, which is one part of elegance, there is little use of the one to him that has no need of the other: where rhetoric is not necessary, grammar may be spared. I know not why any one should waste his time, and beat his head about the Latin grammar, who does not intend to be a critic, or make speeches and write dispatches in it. When any one finds in himself a necessity or disposition to study any foreign language to the bottom, and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical survey of it. If his use of it be only to understand some books writ in it, without a critical knowledge of the tongue itself, reading alone, as I have said, will attain this end, without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.

169. For the exercise of his writing, let him sometimes translate Latin into English: but the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of

words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other real knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the senses; such as is the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, and particularly timber and fruit-trees, their parts, and ways of propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child which will not be useless to the man. But more especially geography, astronomy, and anatomy. But whatever you are teaching him, have a care still that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any thing his business but downright virtue, or reprove him for any thing but vice, or some apparent tendency to it.

170. But if, after all, his fate be to go to school to get the Latin tongue, it will be vain to talk with you concerning the method I think best to be observed in schools; you must submit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your son; but yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employed in making Latin themes and declamations, and least of all verses of any kind. You may insist on it, if it will do any good, that you have no design to make him either a Latin orator or poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a Latin author; and that you observe, those who teach any of the modern languages, and that with success, never amuse their scholars to make speeches or verses either in French or Italian, their business being language barely, and not invention.

## THEMES.

171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercised in making of themes and verses. 1. As to themes, they have, I confess, the pretence of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject; which, if it could be attained this way, I own, would be a great advantage, there being nothing more becoming a gentleman nor more useful in all the occurrences of life, than to be able, on any occasion, to speak well, and to the purpose. But this I say, that the making of themes, as is usual in schools, helps not one jot toward it: for do but consider what it is, in making a theme, that a young lad is employed about; it is to make a speech on some Latin saying; as *Omnia vincit amor*; or *Non licet in bello bis peccare*, &c. And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of those things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from time and observation, must set his invention on the rack, to say something where he knows nothing; which is a sort of Egyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials. And therefore it is usual, in such cases, for the poor children to go to those of higher forms with this petition, Pray give me a little sense; which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easy to determine.<sup>(97)</sup> Before a

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(97) I have lately seen a book advertised, which professes to furnish "Sense for Latin verses." I would that heaven had given us the sense to dispense both with the verses and those who teach

man can be in any capacity to speak on any subject, it is necessary he be acquainted with it; or else it is as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind man to talk of colours, or a deaf man of music. And would you not think him a little cracked, who would require another to make an argument on a moot point, who understands nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do school-boys understand concerning those matters which are used to be proposed to them in their themes, as subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their fancies?

172. In the next place, consider the language that their themes are made in: it is Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long since dead everywhere: a language which your son, it is a thousand to one, shall never have an occasion once to make a speech in as long as he lives after he comes to be a man; and a language wherein the manner of expressing one's self is so far different from ours, that to be perfect in that would very little improve the purity and facility of his English style. <sup>(98)</sup> Besides that, there is now so little room or use for set speeches in our own language in any part of our English business, that I can see no pretence for this sort of exercise in our schools,

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the art of making them! The absurdity of the practice had been already pointed out by Milton.—(*Select Works*, i. 145, *Education*, §. 5.)

<sup>(98)</sup> Hence partly, perhaps, the Latinisms discoverable in most of our older writers, and the barren English upon which many others have since turned their hungry thoughts to graze.

unless it can be supposed, that the making of set Latin speeches should be the way to teach men to speak well in English extempore. The way to that, I should think rather to be this: that there should be proposed to young gentlemen, rational and useful questions, suited to their age and capacities, and on subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their way: such as these, when they are ripe for exercises of this nature, they should extempore, or after a little meditation upon the spot,<sup>(99)</sup> speak to, without penning of any thing: for I ask, if we will examine the effects of this way of learning to speak well, who speak best in any business, when occasion calls them to it upon any debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down beforehand, what they would say; or those, who thinking only of the matter, to understand that as well

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<sup>(99)</sup> Even this practice, if not very carefully watched over, is liable to become the parent of innumerable absurdities. Much would of course depend on the good sense of those who should select the questions; but, whatever care may be taken, the tendency, in such cases, generally is towards that class of questions glanced at by Petronius, who introduces Encolpius, observing:—“Ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in litore stantes, et tyrannos edicta scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita præcidant, sed responsa in pestilentia data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur,” &c.—(*Satyricon*, &c. p. 47, 48, edit. G. Erhard, 1610.) Some attention should also be paid to *action*, the want of which converts our senators into so many posture-makers, and renders a visit to the House of Commons like going to a fair, to see mountebanks perform tricks of agility.

as they can, use themselves only to speak extempore? And he that shall judge by this, will be little apt to think, that the accustoming him to studied speeches, and set compositions, is the way to fit a young gentleman for business.

173. But perhaps we shall be told, it is to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue. It is true, that is their proper business at school; but the making of themes is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains about invention of things to be said, not about the signification of words to be learned; and when they are making a theme, it is thoughts they search and sweat for, not language. But the learning and mastery of a tongue being uneasy and unpleasant enough in itself, should not be cumbered with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, if boy's inventions be to be quickened by such exercise, let them make themes in English, where they have facility and a command of words, and will better see what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language. And if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest way, without toiling and disgusting the mind by so uneasy an employment as that of making speeches joined to it.

## VERSES.

174. If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making verses; verses of any sort: for if he has no genius to poetry, it is the most unreasonable

thing in the world to torment a child, and waste his time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a poetic vein, it is to me the strangest thing in the world that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labour to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be;<sup>(100)</sup> and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business: which is not yet the worst of the case; for if he proves a successful rhymers, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is like to spend his time in, nay, and estate too: for it is very seldom seen, that any

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<sup>(100)</sup> Considering the stuff which, under the name of poetry, is hawked about the world, and was particularly rife in Locke's days, I by no means wonder at the sternness of this decision. He compares it with gambling, and describes them as companions; which is sufficient to show what class of poetry he had in view. Sir Henry Saville, I think it was who said that poets are the best writers next to those who write in prose; not perhaps undervaluing poetry itself,—which in one who could say anything so witty I think impossible,—but in reference to the low character, intellectual and moral, of the vulgar tribe of versifiers. True poets are too rare, and too high objects of veneration, for their advent to be viewed with indifference in any state or rank of society. Even among the Arabs of the desert the appearance of a poet in a family is looked upon as a public blessing, and those to whom he belongs being by their neighbours accounted happy, congratulations and presents are sent them from the surrounding tribes, as if a second sun had shone forth upon the world. And in civilized nations, though a different mode of exhibiting their joy is taken, all men of elevated and refined characters, experience peculiar delight in witnessing, in such writers as Milton or Shakespeare, the development of the creative faculty.

one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil ; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on. Men of estates almost constantly go away losers ; and it is well if they escape at a cheaper rate than their whole estates, or the greatest part of them. If therefore you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, without whom the sparks could not relish their wine, nor know how to pass an afternoon idly ; if you would not have him to waste his time and estate to divert others, and condemn the dirty acres left him by his ancestors, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, and that the study of it would raise his fancy and parts, he must needs yet confess, that to that end reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets, is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own. And he, whose design it is to excel in English poetry, would not, I guess, think the way to it were to make his first essays in Latin verses.

## MEMORITER.

175. Another thing very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar-schools there is, of which I see no

use at all, unless it be to baulk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, should be made as easy and pleasant as may be ; and that which was painful in it, as much as possible, quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors which are taught them ; wherein I can discover no advantage at all, especially to the business they are upon. Languages are to be learned only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart ; which, when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant,<sup>(101)</sup> and it is the ready way to make him one ; than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handsome thoughts and sayings of others with a deal of poor stuff of his own ; which is thereby the more exposed, and has no other grace in it, nor will otherwise recommend the speaker, than a thread-bare russet coat would, that was set off with large patches of scarlet, and glittering brocade. Indeed, where a passage comes in the way, whose matter is worth remembrance, and the expression of it very close and excellent, (as there are many such in the ancient authors,) it may not be amiss to lodge it in the mind of young scholars, and with such admirable strokes of those

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<sup>(101)</sup> This every day's experience ; proves the young fry from our colleges, buoyed up by this bladder-and-cork learning, being, to all sane and well-instructed men, one of the most insufferable nuisances from which they cannot be defended by the laws.

great masters sometimes exercise the memory of school-boys. But their learning of their lessons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their books, without choice or distinction, I know not what it serves for, but to mis-spend their time and pains, and give them a disgust and aversion to their books, wherein they find nothing but useless trouble.

176. I hear it is said, that children should be employed in getting things by heart, to exercise and improve their memories. I could wish this were said with as much authority of reason, as it is with forwardness of assurance, and that this practice were established upon good observation, more than old custom ; for it is evident, that strength of memory is owing to a happy constitution, and not to any habitual improvement got by exercise.<sup>(102)</sup> It is true what the mind is intent upon, and for fear of letting it slip, often imprints afresh on itself by frequent reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural strength of retention. An impression made on bees'-wax or lead, will not last so long as on brass or steel. Indeed, if it be

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<sup>(102)</sup> Nevertheless, it seems to be an established fact, that memory may be greatly improved by exercise ; of which the ancients were so fully persuaded that many, who were desirous of distinguishing themselves, expended large sums on Masters of Memory. Callias, son of Hipponicus, studied mnemonics under Hippias of Elis : (*Xenophon Symp.* iv. 62, *Schneid.*) and in his treatise, "De Oratore," (ii. 86—88,) Cicero introduces Antonius, expressing his gratitude to Simonides, the reputed inventor of the art, and relating, by way of illustration, the story of the Thessalian, Scopas, who, being buried with all his guests under the ruins of his palace, their mangled remains were pointed out to the surviving relatives by the poet, who had escaped, and re-

renewed often, it may last the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new impression; and it is from thence one is to reckon, if one would know how long the mind retains it. But the learning pages of Latin by heart, no more fits the memory for retention of any thing else, than the gravings of one sentence in lead makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other characters. If such a sort of exercise of the memory were able to give it strength, and improve our parts, players of all other people must needs have the best memories, and be the best company. But whether the scraps they have got into their heads this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their parts be improved proportionably to the pains they have taken in getting by heart other sayings, experience will show. Memory is so necessary to all parts and conditions of life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull and useless for want of exercise, if exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this faculty of the mind is not capable of much help

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membered where each had sat at table.—(See also the note of Dr. Pearce, on c. 88, and *Quintilian*, ii. 2, 11—27.) Schneider, (*Not. ad Xenoph. Symp.* iv. 62,) quotes from the third book, “*Ad Herennium*,” (c. 16, *conf. et c.* 24,) a passage of too great length to be here transcribed, which, as he observes, suffices to render intelligible an obscure allusion of Aristotle. — (*De Anima*, iii. 3.) Speaking of the phantasy he says:—τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ὅταν ἐκουλώμεθα· πρὸ ὁμμάτων γὰρ ἐστὶ ποιήσασθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημονικοῖς τιθέμενοι καὶ εἰδωλοποιοῦντες. Which he renders, “*Quemadmodum qui per artificiosam memoriam locos disponunt et in iis imagines collocant.*”

and amendment in general by any exercise or endeavour of ours; at least, not by that used upon this pretence in grammar schools. And if Xerxes was able to call every common soldier by his name in his army, <sup>(103)</sup> that consisted of no less than a hundred thousand men, I think it may be guessed, he got not this wonderful ability by learning his lessons by heart when he was a boy. This method of exercising and improving the memory by toilsome repetitions without book, of what they read, is, I think, little used in the education of princes, which if it had that advantage is talked of, should be as little neglected in them as in the meanest school-boys : princes having as much need of good memories as any men living, and have generally an equal share in this faculty with other men ; though it has never been taken care of this way. What the mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers best, and for the reason above mentioned : to which, if method and order be joined, all is done, I think, that can be, for the help of a weak memory ; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a train of other people's words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I guess, scarce find the profit answer half the time and pains employed in it.

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no exercise given to children's memories. I think their memories should be employed, but not in

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<sup>(103)</sup> The fact itself is here to be doubted ; for his army having been suddenly collected from all parts of the Persian empire, he could not know the names of all, even were it otherwise possible.

learning by rote whole pages out of books, which, the lesson being once said, and that task over, are delivered up again to oblivion, and neglected for ever. This mends neither the memory nor the mind. What they should learn by heart out of authors, I have above mentioned: and such wise and useful sentences being once given in charge to their memories, they should never be suffered to forget again, but be often called to 'account for them; whereby, besides the use those sayings may be to them in their future life, as so many good rules and observations, they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the memory quick and useful. The custom of frequent reflection will keep their minds from running adrift, and call their thoughts home from useless unattentive roving: and therefore, I think, it may do well to give them something every day to remember, but something still, that is in itself worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of mind, whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wish them a better intellectual habit.

177. But under whose care soever a child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible years of his life, this is certain, it should be one, who thinks Latin and languages the least part of education; one who knowing how much virtue, and a well-tempered soul is to be preferred to any sort of learning or language, makes it his chief business

to form the mind of his scholars, and give that a right disposition; which, if once got, though all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest: and which, if it be not got, and settled, so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and sciences, and all the other accomplishments of education, will be to no purpose, but to make the worse, or more dangerous man. And indeed whatever stir there is made about getting of Latin, as the great and difficult business, his mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three hours in a day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her: for she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got somebody to mark the last syllable but one where it is long, in words above two syllables, (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation, and accenting the words,) read daily in the gospels, and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her, in the same manner read *Æsop's* fables, and so proceed on to *Eutropius*, *Justin*, and other such books. I do not mention this as an imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin tongue with ease got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: he that takes upon him the charge of bringing up young men, especially young gentlemen, should have something more in him than Latin, more than even a knowledge of the liberal sciences: he should be a person of eminent virtue and prudence, and with

good sense, have good humour, and the skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kindness in a constant conversation with his pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.

178. At the same time that he is learning French and Latin, a child, as has been said, may also be entered in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history and geometry too. For if these be taught him in French or Latin, when he begins once to understand either of these tongues, he will get a knowledge in these sciences, and the language to boot.

#### GEOGRAPHY.

Geography, I think, should be begun with: for the learning of the figure of the globe, the situation and boundaries of the four parts of the world, and that of particular kingdoms and countries, being only an exercise of the eyes and memory, a child with pleasure will learn and retain them. And this is so certain, that I now live in the house with a child, whom his mother has so well instructed this way in geography, that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being asked, to any country upon the globe, or any county in the map of England; knew all the great rivers, promontories, straits, and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place, before he was six years old. <sup>(104)</sup> These things, that he will thus

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<sup>(104)</sup> Yet at that early age he had much better, I think, have been without such knowledge.

learn by sight, and have by rote in his memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the globes. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his judgment has grown ripe enough for it; besides that, it gets so much time now; and by the pleasure of knowing things, leads him on insensibly to the gaining of languages.

#### ARITHMETIC.—ASTRONOMY.

179. When he has the natural parts of the globe well fixed in his memory, it may then be time to begin arithmetic. By the natural parts of the globe, I mean several positions of the parts of the earth and sea, under different names and distinctions of countries, not coming yet to those artificial and imaginary lines, which have been invented, and are only supposed for the better improvement of that science.

180. Arithmetic is the easiest, and consequently the first sort of abstract reasoning, which the mind commonly bears, or accustoms itself to: and is of so general use in all parts of life and business, that scarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly: he should therefore begin to be exercised in counting, as soon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do something in it every day, till he is master of the art of numbers. When he understands addition and subtraction, he may then be advanced farther in geography; after he is ac-

quainted with the poles, zones, parallel circles, and meridians, be taught longitude and latitude, and by them be made to understand the use of maps, and by the numbers placed on their sides, to know the respective situation of countries, and how to find them out on the terrestrial globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be entered in the celestial; and there going over all the circles again, with a more particular observation of the ecliptic, or zodiac, to fix them all very clearly and distinctly in his mind, he may be taught the figure and position of the several constellations, which may be showed him first upon the globe, and then in the Heavens.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the constellations of this our hemisphere, it may be time to give him some notions of this our planetary world; and to that purpose, it may not be amiss to make him a draught of the Copernican system, and therein explain to him the situation of the planets, their respective distances from the sun, the centre of their revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the motion and theory of the planets, the most easy and natural way. For since astronomers no longer doubt of the motion of the planets about the sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that hypothesis, which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a learner, but also the likeliest to be true in itself. But in this, as in all other parts of instruction, great care must be taken with children, to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at

once, and settle that well in their heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that science. Give them first one simple idea, and see that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add some other simple idea which lies next in your way to what you aim at, and so proceeding by gentle and insensible steps, children, without confusion and amazement, will have their understandings opened, and their thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learned any thing himself, there is no such way to fix it in his memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to set him to teach it others.

#### GEOMETRY.

181. When he has once got such an acquaintance with the globes, as is above mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in geometry; wherein I think the six first books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt, whether more to a man of business be necessary or useful. At least, if he have a genius and inclination to it, being entered so far by his tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a teacher.

The globes therefore must be studied, and that diligently; and I think may be begun betimes, if the tutor will but be careful to distinguish what the child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a rule that perhaps will go a pretty way, viz. that children may be taught any thing that falls under their senses, especially their

sight, as far as their memories only are exercised : and thus a child very young may learn which is the equator, which the meridian, &c. which Europe, and which England, upon the globes, as soon almost as he knows the rooms of the house he lives in, if care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learned and fixed in his memory.

### CHRONOLOGY.

182. With geography, chronology ought to go hand in hand. I mean the general part of it, so that he may have in his mind a view of the whole current of time, and the several considerable epochs that are made use of in history. Without these two, history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge;<sup>(105)</sup> and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman, or man of business in the world, without geography and chronology, I say, history will be very ill retained, and very little useful ; but be only a jumble of matters of fact, confusedly heaped together without order or instruction. It is by these two, that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries, under which circumstances, they are not only much easier kept in the memory, but in that

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(105) There is no department of learning so clouded by uncertainties as chronology. I know of no system that can be generally depended on ; and to compare Scaliger with Petau, Marsham with Newton, Blair with Dr. Hales, would consume the greater part of a life, and in all probability, end at last in uncertainty.

natural order, are only capable to afford those observations, which make a man the better and the abler for reading them.

183. When I speak of chronology as a science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little controversies that are in it. These are endless, and most of them of so little importance to a gentleman, as not to deserve to be enquired into, were they capable of any easy decision. And therefore all that learned noise and dust of the chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful book I have seen in that part of learning, is a small treatise of Strauchius, <sup>(106)</sup> which is printed in twelves, under the title of *Breviarium Chronologicum*, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young gentleman concerning chronology; for all that is in that treatise a learner need not be cumbered with. He has in him the most remarkable or useful epochs reduced all to that of the Julian period, which is the easiest, plainest, and surest method, that can be made use of in chronology. To this treatise of Strauchius, Helvicus's tables may be added, as a book to be turned to on all occasions.

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(<sup>106</sup>) Strauchius's work has now sunk into obscurity; nor has any other system of chronology been very long lived, or afforded much satisfaction to any but their inventors. I mean in reference to remote ages. Gagnet, however, in his "*Origine des Loix*," has some useful details; and for Grecian History, subsequent to the Fifty-fifth Olympiad, I may venture to recommend the "*Fasti Hellenici*" of Mr. Fyne's Clinton.

## HISTORY.

184. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than history. The first of these recommends it to the study of grown men, the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young lad, who as soon as he is instructed in chronology, and acquainted with the several epochs in use in this part of the world, and can reduce them to the Júlían period, should then have some Latin history put into his hand. The choice should be directed by the easiness of the style; for wherever he begins, chronology will keep it from confusion; and the pleasantness of the subject inviting him to read, the language will insensibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneasiness, which children suffer, where they are put into books beyond their capacity; such as are the Roman orators and poets, only to learn the Roman language. When he has by reading mastered the easier, such perhaps as Justin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c. the next degree to these, will give him no great trouble: and thus by a gradual progress from the plainest and easiest historians,<sup>(107)</sup> he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the Latin authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

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(107) An excellent method, which cannot be too earnestly recommended.

## ETHICS.

185. The knowledge of virtue, all along from the beginning, in all the instances he is capable of, being taught him more by practice than rules; and the love of reputation, instead of satisfying his appetite, being made habitual in him, I know not whether he should read any other discourses of morality, but what he finds in the Bible; or have any system of ethics put into his hand, till he can read Tully's Offices, <sup>(108)</sup> not as a school-boy to learn Latin, but as one that would be informed in the principles and precepts of virtue, for the conduct of his life.

## CIVIL LAW.

186. When he has pretty well digested Tully's Offices, and added to it, Puffendorf de Officio Hominis et Civis, it may be seasonable to set him upon Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, or, which perhaps is the better of the two, Puffendorf de Jure

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(<sup>108</sup>) Cicero's treatise "De Officiis," particularly the first and second books, in which he follows the philosopher Panætius, ought certainly to be diligently studied by all who would comprehend the science of morals. But ancient literature contains a work of far superior merit—a work in which for the first time, and, perhaps, for the last, the subject has been philosophically treated—I mean Aristotle's Ethics. This the youth should be taught to regard as a great fountain of morals, whence the purest knowledge, and the loftiest sentiments may be made to flow in upon the soul, to spread over, to saturate it, and ultimately to nourish and bring to perfection that "noblest work of God," a liberal and upright character.

*naturali et Gentium* ; wherein he will be instructed in the natural rights of men, and the origin and foundation of society, and the duties resulting from thence. This general part of civil law and history, are studies which a gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A virtuous and well-behaved young man, that is well versed in the general part of the civil law, (which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourse of civilised nations in general, grounded upon principles of reason,) understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn loose into the world, with great assurance that he will find employment and esteem everywhere.

## LAW.

187. It would be strange to suppose an English gentleman should be ignorant of the law of his country. <sup>(109)</sup> This, whatever station he is in, is so requisite, that from a justice of the peace, to a minister of state, I know no place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the chicane, or wrangling and captious part of the law: a gentleman, whose business is to seek the true measures of right and wrong, and not the arts how to avoid doing the one, and secure himself in doing the other,

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<sup>(109)</sup> Cicero constantly urges on his readers the study of the laws; but it was then an easy matter, compared with what it is now. Nevertheless, it is desirable that a knowledge of the spirit at least of our laws should be generally diffused, but much to be regretted that no better assistant than Blackstone exists.

ought to be as far from such a study of the law, as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that, wherein he may be serviceable to his country. And to that purpose, I think the right way for a gentleman to study our law, which he does not design for his calling, is to take a view of our English constitution and government, in the ancient books of the common law; and some more modern writers, who out of them have given an account of this government. And having got a true idea of that, then to read our history, and with it join in every king's reign, the laws then made.<sup>(110)</sup> This will give an insight into the reason of our statutes, and show the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

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<sup>(110)</sup> In his "Thoughts concerning Reading and Study," he enumerates several works on the laws, &c. of England, which ought to be studied. To spare the reader's pains I subjoin the list:—"With the history, he may also do well to read the ancient lawyers; such as Bracton, 'Fleta;' Henningham, 'Mirror of Justice;' my Lord Coke's 'Second Institutes,' and the 'Modus tenendi Parliamentum;' and others of that kind, which he may find quoted in the late controversies between Mr. Petit, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Atwood, &c. with Dr. Brady; as also, *I suppose*, in Sedler's (*Sadleir's*) treatise of 'Rights of the Kingdom,' and 'Customs of our Ancestors,' *whereof the first edition is the best*; wherein he will find the ancient constitution of the government of England."—(*Essay on the Human Understanding*, &c. ii. 409.) Locke is right in recommending *the first edition* of Sadleir's work, published in 1649,—for it was mutilated after the Restoration. It is a very thin quarto. Milton often refers to this treatise, which few readers of the present day, perhaps, will have the curiosity to consult, though they might find their account in so doing.

## RHETORIC—LOGIC.

188. Rhetoric and logic being the arts, that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after grammar, it may perhaps be wondered that I have said so little of them. The reason is, because of the little advantage young people receive by them: for I have seldom or never observed any one to get the skill of reasoning well, or speaking handsomely, by studying those rules which pretend to teach it: and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of them in the shortest systems that could be found, without dwelling long on the contemplation and study of those formalities. Right reasoning is founded on something else than the predicaments and predicables, and does not consist in talking in mode and figure itself. But it is beside my present business to enlarge upon this speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand: if you would have your son reason well, let him read Chillingworth; <sup>(111)</sup> and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, <sup>(112)</sup> to give him the true idea of eloquence;

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<sup>(111)</sup> This is a high compliment to Chillingworth, a favourite author with Locke, who elsewhere in his works frequently speaks of him, and always with praise. On the subject of logic and rhetoric I can by no means adopt the opinions expressed in this paragraph; he might as well contend that a man makes no proficiency in arithmetic by learning the rules.

<sup>(112)</sup> No one but an affected pedant will deny Cicero's claims to be considered a splendid orator, in whose works almost every artifice of rhetoric and charm of style are found united. Yet the great Attic orators soared to a higher pitch, and must be con-

and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his style in the purity of our language.

189. If the use and end of right reasoning, be to have right notions and a right judgment of things, to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and to act accordingly ; be sure not to let your son be bred up in the art and formality of disputing, either practising it himself, or admiring it in others ; unless instead of an able man, you desire to have him an insignificant wrangler, opiniator in discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others ; or, which is worse, questioning every thing, and thinking there is no such thing as truth to be sought, but only victory in disputing. There cannot be any thing so disingenuous, so misbecoming a gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational creature, as not to yield to plain reason, and the conviction of clear arguments. Is there any thing more inconsistent with civil conversation, and the end of all debate, than not to take an answer, though ever so full and satisfactory, but still to go on with the dispute as long as equivocal sounds can furnish (a *medius terminus*) a term to wrangle with on the one side,

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dered models approaching still nearer to perfection. They were, moreover, his models, and in his most ambitious moments, he scarcely ever hoped to stand on the same level with them. To them, therefore, I would point, as to the most accomplished speakers known to criticism ; and for a luminous and eloquent description of their excellences, by no unworthy imitator, the reader may be referred to Lord Brougham's "Inaugural Discourse," delivered some years ago at Glasgow.

or a distinction on the other? <sup>(113)</sup> whether pertinent or impertinent, sense or nonsense, agreeing with, or contrary to what he had said before, it matters not. For this, in short, is the way and perfection of logical disputes, that the opponent never takes any answer, nor the respondent ever yields to any argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of truth or knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffled wretch, and lie under the disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirmed, which is the great aim and glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due consideration of things themselves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing: these lead not men so much into the discovery of truth, as into a captious and fallacious use of doubtful words, which is the most useless and most offensive way of talking, and such as least suits a gentleman or a lover of truth of any thing in the world.

There can scarce be a greater defect in a gentleman, than not to express himself well either in writing or speaking. But yet I think I may ask my reader, whether he doth not know a great many, who live upon their estates, and so, with

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(113) This was the great accomplishment of Hudibras:—

“ On either side he would dispute,  
 Confute, change hands, and still confute.  
 He'd undertake to prove by force  
 Of argument, a man's no horse.  
 He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,  
 And that a lord—may be an owl,  
 A calf an alderman, a goose a justice,  
 And rooks, committee-men and trustees," &c.

the name, should have the qualities of gentlemen, who cannot so much as tell a story as they should, much less speak clearly and persuasively in any business. This I think not to be so much their fault, as the fault of their education ; for I must, without partiality, do my countrymen this right, that where they apply themselves, I see none of their neighbours outgo them. They have been taught rhetoric, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their tongues or pens in the language they are always to use ; as if the names of the figures that embellished the discourses of those who understood the art of speaking, were the very art and skill of speaking well. This, as all other things of practice, is to be learned, not by a few or a great many rules given, but by exercise and application, according to good rules, or rather patterns, till habits are got, and a facility of doing it well.

## STYLE.

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss, to make children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a story of any thing they know ; and to correct at first the most remarkable fault they are guilty of in their way of putting it together. When that fault is cured, then to show them the next, and so on, till one after another, all, at least the gross ones, are mended. When they can tell tales pretty well, then it may be the time to make them write them.<sup>(114)</sup> The fables of Æsop,

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<sup>(114)</sup> An excellent method, which I have seen practised with success.

the only book almost that I know fit for children, may afford them matter for this exercise of writing English, as well as for reading and translating, to enter them in the Latin tongue. When they have got past the faults of grammar, and can join in a continued coherent discourse the several parts of a story, without bald and unhandsome forms of transition (as is usual) often repeated, he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first step to speaking well, and needs no invention, may have recourse to Tully, and by putting in practise those rules which that master of eloquence gives, in his first book, *de Inventione*, § 20. make them know wherein the skill and graces of a handsome narrative, according to the several subjects and designs of it, lie. Of each of which rules fit examples may be found out, and therein they may be shown how others have practised them. The ancient classic authors afford plenty of such examples, which they should be made not only to translate, but have set before them as patterns for their daily imitation.

When they understand how to write English with due connexion, propriety, and order, and are pretty well masters of a tolerable narrative style, they may be advanced to writing of letters; wherein they should not be put upon any strains of wit or compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy sense, without any incoherence, confusion or roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their thoughts, have set before them

the example of Voiture<sup>(115)</sup> for the entertainment of their friends at a distance, with letters of compliment, mirth, raillery or diversion; and Tully's Epistles, as the best pattern, whether for business or conversation. The writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which besides the consequences that, in his affairs, his well or ill-managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer examination of his breeding, sense, and abilities, than oral discourses; whose transient faults dying for the most part with the sound that gives them life, and so not subject to a strict review, more easily escape observation and censure.

Had the methods of education been directed to their right end, one would have thought this so necessary a part could not have been neglected, whilst themes and verses in Latin, of no use at all, were so constantly everywhere pressed, to the racking of children's inventions beyond their strength, and hindering their cheerful progress in

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(<sup>115</sup>) In the biography of Locke, prefixed to the "Reasonableness of Christianity," (*Sacred Classics*, vol. xxv.) I have expressed my opinion of Voiture's style, which is distinguished for affectation and false wit. This writer was a favourite however with our philosopher in his youth, and hence remembered with pleasure; but much of the bad taste discoverable in his own letters from Holland may be traced to his partiality for this bad model.

learning the tongues by unnatural difficulties. But custom has so ordained it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learned country schoolmaster (who has all the tropes and figures in Farnaby's rhetoric <sup>(116)</sup> at his finger ends) to teach his scholar to express himself handsomely in English, when it appears to be so little his business or thought, that the boy's mother (despised, it is like, as illiterate for not having read a system of logic and rhetoric) outdoes him in it?

To write and speak correctly, gives a grace, and gains a favourable attention to what one has to say: and since it is English that an English gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better Latin than English, may make a man be talked of, but he will find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken anywhere to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly

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(<sup>116</sup>) This is merely an abridgment of the excellent rhetoric of Vossius, which no student, who aims at an enlarged acquaintance with eloquence, should be without. The second, and best edition, is that of Leyden, 1627, in small quarto. To this I would add Buffon's Discourse on Style, delivered on his admission to the Academy des Inscriptions, &c.

understand and be masters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or any thing, rather than to his education, or any care of his teacher. To mind what English his pupil speaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach; English is the language of the illiterate vulgar: though yet we see the polity of some of our neighbours hath not thought it beneath the public care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language. Polishing and enriching their tongue, is no small business amongst them; it hath colleges and stipends appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great ambition and emulation of writing correctly: and we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst languages possible in this part of the world,<sup>(117)</sup> if we look upon it as it was in some few reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The great men among the Romans were daily exercising themselves in their own language; and we find yet upon record, the names of orators,

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(117) This language, though assiduously cultivated, and enriched by the labours of many highly gifted writers, is still very inferior, particularly in poetry, to our own. As a conversational dialect, however, it is possessed of peculiar graces, which those will most relish who understand it best. In philosophy, too, and the exacter sciences, French has been employed with signal success.

who taught some of their emperors Latin, though it were their mother tongue.

It is plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs. All other speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute people; though it be past doubt that they borrowed their learning and philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against Greek and Latin; I think they ought to be studied, and the Latin at least understood well by every gentleman. But whatever foreign languages a young man meddles with, (and the more he knows the better,) that which he should critically study, and labour to get a facility, clearness, and elegancy to express himself in, should be his own; and to this purpose he should daily be exercised in it.

#### NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

190. Natural philosophy, as a speculative science, I imagine we have none, and perhaps I may think I have reason to say we never shall be able to make a science of it. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom, and operate by ways too far surpassing our faculties to discover, or capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a science. Natural philosophy being the knowledge of the principles, properties and operations of things as they are in themselves, I imagine there are two parts of it, one comprehend-

ing spirits, with their nature and qualities, and other, bodies. The first of these is usually referred to metaphysics : but under what title soever the consideration of spirits comes, I think it ought to go before the study of matter and body, not as a science that can be methodized into a system, and treated of upon principles of knowledge ; but as an enlargement of our minds towards a truer and fuller comprehension of the intellectual world, to which we are led both by reason and revelation. And since the clearest and largest discoveries we have of other spirits, besides God and our own souls, is imparted to us from Heaven by revelation, I think the information, that at least young people should have of them, should be taken from that revelation. To this purpose, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good history of the Bible, for young people to read ; wherein if every thing that is fit to be put into it, were laid down in its due order of time, and several things omitted which are suited only to riper age, that confusion which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And also this other good obtained, that by reading of it constantly, there would be instilled into the minds of children a notion and belief of spirits, they having so much to do in all the transactions of that history, which will be a good preparation to the study of bodies. For without the notion and allowance of spirit, our philosophy will be lame and defective in one

main part of it, when it leaves out the contemplation of the most excellent and powerful part of the creation.

191. Of this history of the Bible, I think too it would be well, if there were a short and plain epitome made, containing the chief and most material heads, for children to be conversant in as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some notion of spirits, yet it is not contrary to what I said above, that I would not have children troubled, whilst young, with notions of spirits; whereby my meaning was that I think it inconvenient that their yet tender minds should receive early impressions of goblins, spectres, and apparitions, wherewith their maids, and those about them, are apt to fright them into a compliance with their orders, which often proves a great inconvenience to them all their lives after, by subjecting their minds to frights, fearful apprehensions, weakness, and superstition; which, when coming abroad into the world and conversation, they grow weary and ashamed of, it not seldom happens, that to make, as they think, a thorough cure, and ease themselves of a load which has sat so heavy on them, they throw away the thoughts of all spirits together, and so run into the other, but worse extreme.

192. The reason why I would have this premised to the study of bodies, and the doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed before young men be entered in natural philosophy, is, because matter, being a thing that all our senses are constantly

conversant with, it is so apt to possess the mind, and exclude all other beings, but matter; that prejudice, grounded on such principles, often leaves no room for the admittance of spirits, or the allowing any such thing as *immaterial Beings in rerum naturâ*; when yet it is evident, that by mere matter and motion, none of the great phenomena of nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural operation of matter, or any other law of motion, but the positive will of a superior Being so ordering it. And therefore since the deluge cannot be well explained, without admitting something out of the ordinary course of nature, I propose it to be considered, whether God's altering the centre of gravity in the earth for a time (a thing as intelligible as gravity itself, which perhaps a little variation of causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for Noah's flood than any hypothesis yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great objection to this, is, that it would produce but a partial deluge. But the alteration of the centre of gravity once allowed, it is no hard matter to conceive that the Divine Power might make the centre of gravity, placed at a due distance from the centre of the earth, move round it in a convenient space of time, whereby the flood would become universal, and as I think, answer all the phenomena of the deluge, as delivered by Moses, at an easier rate than those many hard suppositions that are made use of to explain it. But this is not a

place for that argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to show the necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare matter and its motion in the explication of nature; to which the notions of spirits and their power, as delivered in the Bible, where so much is attributed to their operation, may be a fit preparative, reserving to a fitter opportunity a fuller explication of this hypothesis, and the application of it to all the parts of the deluge, and any difficulties that can be supposed in the history of the flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

193. But to return to the study of natural philosophy. Though the world be full of systems of it, yet I cannot say I know any one which can be taught a young man as a science, wherein he may be sure to find truth and certainty, which is what all sciences give an expectation of. I do hence conclude, that none of them are to be read. It is necessary for a gentleman, in this learned age, to look into some of them to fit himself for conversation: but whether that of Descartes be put into his hands, as that which is most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short view of that and several others also, I think the systems of natural philosophy, that have obtained in this part of the world, are to be read more to know the hypothesis, and to understand the terms and ways of talking of the several sects, than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientific, and satisfactory knowledge of the works of nature. Only this may be said, that the modern Corpuscularians talk, in most

things, more intelligibly than the Peripatetics, who possessed the schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himself with the several opinions of the ancients, may consult Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*,<sup>(116)</sup> wherein that very learned author hath with such accurateness and judgment collected and explained the opinions of the Greek philosophers, that what principles they built on, and what were the chief hypotheses that divided them, is better to be seen in him, than anywhere else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of nature ; because all the knowledge we have, or possibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a science. There are very many things in it, that are convenient and necessary to be known to a gentleman : and a great many others, that will abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such writers as have employed themselves in making rational experiments and observations, than in starting barely speculative systems. Such writings therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle's are, with others, who have wrote of husbandry, planting, gardening, and the like, may be

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<sup>(116)</sup> In addition to the work of Dr. Cudworth, the modern student may be referred to Brucker's *History of Philosophy*, in Latin ; Tennemann's *Manual of the History of Philosophy* ; and Buhle's *Introduction to his History of Modern Philosophy*. The last-mentioned publication contains few references to authorities ; but in Tennemann's *Manual*, lists of works on the several schools are given ; at least in Victor's Cousin's translation, with which alone I am acquainted.

fit for a gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the systems of the natural philosophy in fashion.

194. Though the systems of physics, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for certainty or science in any treatise, which shall pretend to give us a body of natural philosophy from the first principles of bodies in general, yet the incomparable Mr. Newton has shown, how far mathematics, applied to some parts of nature, may, upon principles that matter of fact justify, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular provinces of the incomprehensible universe. And if others could give us so good and clear an account of other parts of nature, as he has of this our planetary world, and the most considerable phænomena observable in it, in his admirable book, *Philosophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica*, we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain knowledge in several parts of this stupendous machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few, that have mathematics enough to understand his demonstrations; yet the most accurate mathematicians, who have examined them, allowing them to be such, his book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those, who, willing to understand the motions, properties, and operations of the great masses of matter, in this our solar system, will but carefully mind his conclusions, which may be depended on as propositions well proved.

## GREEK.

195. This is, in short, what I have thought concerning a young gentleman's studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered that I should omit Greek, since amongst the Grecians is to be found the original, as it were, and foundation of all that learning which we have in this part of the world. I grant it so; and will add, that no man can pass for a scholar that is ignorant of the Greek tongue. But I am not here considering the education of a professed scholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a man, if he has a mind to carry his studies farther, and look into the Greek learning, he will then easily get that tongue himself: and if he has not that inclination, his learning of it under a tutor will be but lost labour, and much of his time and pains spent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away as soon as he is at liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongst scholars themselves, who retain the Greek they carried from school; or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect understanding of Greek authors? <sup>(119)</sup>

To conclude this part, which concerns a young

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<sup>(119)</sup> How many, indeed! But of this the fault must be shared between the teachers and learners; none can fall upon the language itself, which is more beautiful, and contains more works approaching perfection, than any other language in use among mankind.

gentleman's studies, his tutor should remember, that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge, and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.

The thoughts of a judicious author on the subject of languages, I shall here give the reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them: He says, <sup>(120)</sup> "One can scarce burden children too much with the knowledge of languages. They are useful to men of all conditions, and they equally open them the entrance, either to the most profound, or the more easy and entertaining parts of learning. If this irksome study be put off to a little more advanced age, young men either have not resolution enough to apply to it out of choice, or steadiness to carry it on. And if any one has the gift of perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon languages, which is destined to other uses. And he confines to the study of words that age of his life that is above it, and requires things; at least, it is the losing the best and beautifulest season of one's life. This large foundation of languages cannot be well laid, but when every thing makes an easy and deep impression on the mind; when the memory is fresh, ready, and tenacious; when the head and heart are yet as free from cares, passions, and designs; and those on whom the

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(120) *La Bruyere Moeurs du Siecle*, pp. 577—662.

child depends have authority enough to keep him close to a long continued application. I am persuaded, that the small number of truly learned, and the multitude of superficial pretenders is owing to the neglect of this."

I think every body will agree with this observing gentleman, that languages are the proper study of our first years. But it is to be considered by the parents and tutors, what tongues it is fit the child should learn. For it must be confessed, that it is fruitless pains, and loss of time to learn a language which, in the course of life that he is designed to, he is never like to make use of, or which one may guess by his temper he will wholly neglect and lose again, as soon as an approach to manhood, setting him free from a governor, shall put him into the hands of his own inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned tongues, or dispose him to mind any other language, but what daily use, or some particular necessity shall force upon him.

But yet, for the sake of those who are designed to be scholars, I will add, what the same author subjoins, to make good his foregoing remark. It will deserve to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit rule for tutors to inculcate, and leave with their pupils to guide their future studies.

"The study," says he, "of the original text can never be sufficiently recommended. It is the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of learning. Draw from the spring-head,

and take not things at second-hand. Let the writings of the great masters be never laid aside, dwell upon them, settle them in your mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your business thoroughly to understand them in their full extent, and all their circumstances: acquaint yourself fully with the principles of original authors; bring them to a consistency, and then do you yourself make your deductions. In this state were the first commentators, and do not you rest till you bring yourself to the same. Content not yourself with those borrowed lights, nor guide yourself by their views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you in the dark. Their explications are not yours, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own observations are the product of your own mind, where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all occasions in converse, consultation, and dispute. Lose not the pleasure it is to see that you were not stopped in your reading, but by difficulties that are invincible; where the commentators and scholiasts themselves are at a stand, and have nothing to say. Those copious expositors of other places, who with a vain and pompous overflow of learning, poured out on passages plain and easy in themselves; are very free of their words and pains, where there is no need. Convince yourself fully by this ordering your studies, that it is nothing but men's laziness which hath encouraged pedantry to cram, rather than enrich libraries, and to bury good authors

under heaps of notes and commentaries, and you will perceive that sloth herein hath acted against itself, and its own interest, by multiplying reading and inquiries, and increasing the pains it endeavoured to avoid."

This, though it may seem to concern none but direct scholars, is of so great moment for the right ordering of their education and studies, that I hope I shall not be blamed for inserting of it here; especially if it be considered, that it may be of use to gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the surface, and get to themselves a solid, satisfactory, and masterly insight in any part of learning.

Order and constancy are said to make the great difference between one man and another: this I am sure, nothing so much clears a learner's way, helps him so much on it, and makes him go so easy and so far in any inquiry, as a good method. His governor should take pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to order, <sup>(121)</sup> and teach him method in all the application of his thoughts; show him wherein it lies, and the advantages of it; acquaint him with the several sorts of it, either from general to particulars, or from particulars to what is more general; exercise him in both of them; and make him see in what cases each differ-

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(121) On this subject *Helvétius* makes a remark which ought to acquire the weight of a maxim: "Order lengthens the day, disorder shortens it." In fact, he who studies without order will die without learning; and he who lives without it will never be wise.

ent method is most proper, and to what ends it best serves.

In history the order of time should govern, in philosophical inquiries that of nature, which in all progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the mind, from the knowledge it stands possessed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompounded parts it can divide the matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to have distinct notions, wherever the mind can find any real difference but as carefully to avoid distinctions in terms, where he has not distinct and different clear ideas.

#### DANCING.

196. Besides what is to be had from study and books, there are other accomplishments necessary for a gentleman, to be got by exercise, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which masters must be had.

Dancing being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and above all things manliness, and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it cannot be learned too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom

and easiness to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all: natural unfashionableness being much better than apish affected postures; and I think it much more passable, to put off the hat, and make a leg, like an honest country gentleman, than like an ill-fashioned dancing-master. For as for the jigging part, and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing, further than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage.

#### MUSIC.

197. Music is thought to have some affinity with dancing, and a good hand upon some instruments, is, by many people mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young man's time to gain but a moderate skill in it; and engages often in such odd company, that many think it much better spared: and I have, amongst men of parts and business, so seldom heard any one commended or esteemed for having an excellency in music, that amongst all those things, that ever came into the list of accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place.<sup>(122)</sup> Our short lives will

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<sup>(122)</sup> Yet as a solace, and solitary enjoyment, music has great value. It soothes, and by soothing, appears to strengthen the mind; but to those whom nature has not gifted with that delicate sensibility which renders men susceptible of the charms of music, it must necessarily appear a trivial object of study. Among the Greeks, a people of matchless physical organization, the love of music seems always to have accompanied a passion for literature. Their system of education, which excluded the study of foreign

not serve us for the attainment of all things; nor can our minds be always intent on something to be learned. The weakness of our constitutions, both of mind and body, requires that we should be often unbent: and he that will make use of any part of his life, must allow a large portion of it to recreation. At least, this must not be denied to young people; unless whilst you, with too much haste, make them old, you have the displeasure to set them in their graves, or a second childhood, sooner than you could wish. And therefore, I think, that the time and pains allotted to serious improvements, should be employed about things of most use and consequence, and that too in the method the most easy and short, that could be at any rate obtained: and perhaps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least secrets of education, to make the exercises of the body and mind, the recreation one to another. I doubt not but that something might be done in it, by a prudent man, that would well consider the temper and inclination of his pupil. For he that is wearied either with study or dancing,

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languages, enabled them, moreover, to bestow the requisite time on the study of it; and, accordingly, we find Plato and Aristotle, men to whom the wide range of politics and nature were familiar, recommending, in their didactic treatises, a careful cultivation of the science of music. To Milton it supplied an important portion of the food of the soul. In his blindness and old age he loved to plunge into that wilderness of soothing sounds which is found in the organ; and at such moments his imagination seems to have been rapt, hurried backwards many thousand years, to the age of the prophets and patriarchs, or to that other land where Phrygian and Dorian melodies inspired religious frenzy or deliberate valour.

does not desire presently to go to sleep, but to do something else, which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remembered, that nothing can come into the account of recreation, that is not done with delight.

#### RIDING—FENCING.

198. Fencing,<sup>(123)</sup> and riding the great horse, are looked upon as so necessary parts of breeding, that it would be thought a great omission to neglect them ; the latter of the two being for the most part to be learned only in great towns, is one of the best exercises for health, which is to be had in those places of ease and luxury : and, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young gentleman's employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a man a firm and graceful seat on horseback, and to make him able to teach his horse to stop and turn quick, and to rest on his haunches, is of use to a gentleman both in peace and war. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a business of, and deserve to take up more of his time, than should

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(123) Fencing seems, among our ancestors, to have formed an important part of education, even among those trained up for peaceable professions. For we find even Milton, who, though he never took orders, was educated for the church, alluding with some satisfaction to his expertness as a swordsman. "Nor, though very thin, was I ever deficient in courage or in strength ; and I was wont constantly to exercise myself in the use of the sword, as long as it comported with my habits and my years. Armed with this weapon, as I usually was, I should have thought myself quite a match for any one, though much stronger than myself ; and I felt perfectly secure against the assault of any open enemy."—(*Second Defence of the People of England.*)

barely for his health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous exercise, I shall leave to the discretion of parents and tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the parts of education, that most time and application is to be bestowed on that, which is like to be of greatest consequence, and frequentest use, in the ordinary course and occurrences of that life the young man is designed for.

199. As for fencing, it seems to me a good exercise for health, but dangerous to the life: the confidence of their skill being apt to engage in quarrels those that think they have learned to use their swords. This presumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on points of honour, and slight or no provocations. Young men, in their warm blood are forward to think they have in vain learned to fence, if they never show their skill and courage in a duel; and they seem to have reason. But how many sad tragedies that reason has been the occasion of, the tears of many a mother can witness. A man that cannot fence, will be more careful to keep out of bullies and gamesters' company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon punctilios, nor to give affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the quarrel. And when a man is in the field, a moderate skill in fencing, rather exposes him to the sword of his enemy, than secures him from it. And certainly a man of courage, who cannot fence at all, and there

fore will put all upon one thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially if he has skill in wrestling. And therefore if any provision be made against such accidents, and a man be to prepare his son for duels, I had much rather mine should be a good wrestler than an ordinary fencer, which is the most a gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the fencing-school, and every day exercising. But since fencing, and riding the great horse, are so generally looked upon as necessary qualifications in the breeding of a gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that rank these marks of distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the father, to consider how far the temper of his son, and the station he is like to be in, will allow, or encourage him to comply with fashions, which having very little to do with civil life, were yet formerly unknown to the most warlike nations, and seem to have added little of force or courage to those who have received them; unless we will think martial skill or prowess have been improved by duelling, with which fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out of the world.

200. These are my present thoughts concerning learning and accomplishments. The great business of all is virtue and wisdom :

*Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.*

Teach him to get a mastery over his inclinations, and submit his appetite to reason. This being ob-

tained, and by constant practice settled into habit, the hardest part of the task is over. To bring a young man to this, I know nothing which so much contributes, as the love of praise and commendation, which should therefore be instilled into him by all arts imaginable. Make his mind as sensible of credit and shame as may be; and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him, which will influence his actions when you are not by, to which the fear of a little smart of a rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper stock whereon afterwards to graft the true principles of morality and religion.

## TRADE.

201. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention I shall run the danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning education, all tending towards a gentleman's calling, with which a trade seems to be wholly inconsistent. And yet I cannot forbear to say, I would have him learn a trade, a manual trade; nay, two or three, but one more particularly.

202. The busy inclination of children being always to be directed to something that may be useful to them, the advantages proposed from what they are set about may be considered of two kinds: 1. Where the skill itself that is got by exercise, is worth the having. Thus skill not only in languages and learned sciences, but in painting, turning, gardening, tempering, and working in iron.

and all other useful arts is worth the having. 2. Where the exercise itself, without any consideration, is necessary or useful for health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by children, whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those employments contribute nothing at all to their health. Such are reading and writing, and all other sedentary studies, for the cultivating of the mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of gentlemen's time, quite from their cradles. Other manual arts, which are both got, and exercised by labour, do many of them, by that exercise, not only increase our dexterity and skill, but contribute to our health too, especially such as employ us in the open air. In these, then, health and improvement may be joined together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen, to be made the recreations of one whose chief business is with books and study. In this choice, the age and inclination of the person is to be considered, and constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For command and force may often create, but can never cure, an aversion : and whatever any one is brought to by compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited and less recreated by, whilst he is at it.

## PAINTING.

203. That which of all others would please me best, would be a painter, <sup>(124)</sup> were there not an

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(124) Locke's decision against making painting *an amusement* is

argument or two against it not easy to be answered. First, ill painting is one of the worst things in the world ; and to attain a tolerable degree of skill in it, requires too much of a man's time. If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful studies to give way to that ; and if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains, and money shall be employed in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another reason why I am not for painting in a gentleman, is, because it is a sedentary recreation, which more employs the mind than the body. A gentleman's more serious employment I look on to be study ; and when that demands relaxation and refreshment, it should be in some exercise of the body, which unbends the thought, and confirms the health and strength. For these two reasons I am not for painting.

## RECREATIONS.

204. In the next place, for a country gentleman I shall propose one, or rather both these, viz. gardening or husbandry in general, and working in wood, as a carpenter, joiner, or turner, these being fit and healthy recreations for a man of study or business. For since the mind endures not to be constantly employed in the same thing or way, and sedentary or studious men should have some exercise, that at the same time might divert their minds,

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just : nothing can be more unworthy a liberal mind than an ambition to daub canvass ; and to become *an artist* would require the whole time and study of the ablest man.

and employ their bodies, I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman than these two; the one of them affording him exercise when the weather or season keeps him from the other. Besides that, by being skilled in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many things both of delight and use: though these I propose not as the chief end of his labours, but as temptations to it; diversion from his other more serious thoughts and employments by useful and healthy manual exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

205. The great men among the ancients, understood very well how to reconcile manual labour with affairs of state, and thought it no lessening to their dignity, to make the one the recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have employed and diverted their spare hours, was agriculture. Gideon among the Jews was taken from threshing, as well as Cincinnatus amongst the Romans from the plough, to command the armies of their countries against their enemies; and it is plain their dexterous handling of the flail or the plough, and being good workmen with these tools, did not hinder their skill in arms, nor make them less able in the arts of war or government. They were great captains and statesmen, as well as husbandmen. Cato Major, who had with great reputation borne all the great offices of the commonwealth, has left us an evidence under his own hand, how much he was versed in country affairs; and, as I remember, Cyrus thought gardening so little be-

neath the dignity and grandeur of a throne, that he showed Xenophon a large field of fruit-trees, all of his own planting.<sup>(125)</sup> The records of antiquity, both amongst Jews and Gentiles, are full of instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful recreations by examples.

206. Nor let it be thought that I mistake when I call these or the like exercises and manual arts, diversions, or recreations : for recreation is not being

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(<sup>125</sup>) I have nowhere found, in ancient authors, any foundation for what Locke here relates. Perhaps, however, he may allude to a very beautiful passage in Xenophon's "Economics," where Socrates tells Critobulus an anecdote of the Younger Cyrus and Lysander, the latter of whom, he says, gave an account of the circumstances to his host in Megara. Upon Lysander's arrival at Sardes, with presents from the allies, Cyrus received him with great distinction, and showed him his grounds, which, in the old Persian language, were denominated a Paradise. The Laconian beheld with admiration the beauty of the plantations, where the trees, probably date-palms, arranged in right lines at regular distances, with straight and lofty stems, as I have seen them on the plain of Memphis, formed umbrageous avenues in all directions, while fragrant odours everywhere filled the air. He less admired the grounds, however, than the industry of Cyrus, who had arranged and laid out the whole ; but, on his making the remark, "Do you wonder," said Cyrus, "at this circumstance ? Why, among those trees, there are many that I planted with my own hands." Regarding his appearance, the beauty of his perfumed garments, his splendid bracelets, and neck-chains, and all the rest of his personal ornaments, Lysander is said to have exclaimed, "What do you mean, Cyrus ? would you pretend that with those hands you have planted trees ?" To which Cyrus replied : "Do you feel surprised at that, Lysander ? I swear to you by Mithra, that, when in good health, I never sup before I have well perspired, either in martial exercises, or in the labours of agriculture."—(*Xenophon Econom.* iv. 20—25, edit. Schneid.)

idle, (as every one may observe,) but easing the wearied part by change of business: and he that thinks diversion may not lie in hard and painful labour, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold, and hunger of huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant recreation of men of the greatest condition. Delving, planting, inoculating, <sup>(126)</sup> or any the like profitable employments, would be no less a diversion, than any of the idle sports in fashion, if men could but be brought to delight in them, which custom and skill in a trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found those, who being frequently called to cards, or any other play, by those they could not refuse, have been more tired with these recreations than with any the most serious employment of life, though the play has been such, as they have naturally had no aversion to, and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

207. Play, wherein persons of condition, especially ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me, that men cannot be perfectly idle; they must be doing something; for how else could they sit so many hours toiling at that which generally gives more vexation than delight to most people whilst they are actually engaged in it? It is certain, gaming leaves no satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either body or mind: as to their estates, if

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(<sup>126</sup>) Inoculating here means "grafting." The word, in this sense, is common in our older writers.

it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a trade then, and not a recreation, wherein few that have any thing else to live on, thrive: and at best, a thriving gamester has but a poor trade of it, who fills his pockets at the price of his reputation.

Recreation belongs not to people who are strangers to business, and are not wasted and wearied with the employment of their calling. The skill should be, so to order their time of recreation, that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised, and is tired, and yet do something, which besides the present delight and ease, may produce, what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the vanity and pride of greatness and riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous pastimes (as they are called) into fashion, and persuaded people into a belief, that the learning, or putting their hands to any thing that was useful, could not be a diversion fit for a gentleman. This has been that which has given cards, dice, and drinking, so much credit in the world: and a great many throw away their spare hours in them, through the prevalency of custom, and want of some better employment to fill up the vacancy of leisure, more than from any real delight is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unemployed time lying upon their hands, nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at all: and having never learned any laudable manual art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish, or ill ways in use, to help off their time, which a rational

man, till corrupted by custom, could find very little pleasure in.

208. I say not this, that I would never have a young gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent diversions in fashion, amongst those of his age and condition. I am so far from having him austere and morose to that degree, that I would persuade him to more than ordinary complaisance for all the gaieties and diversions of those he converses with, and be averse or testy in nothing they should desire of him, that might become a gentleman and an honest man. Though as to cards and dice, I think the safest and best way is never to learn any play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous temptations and incroaching wasters of useful time.<sup>(127)</sup> But allowance being made for idle and jovial conversation, and all fashionable becoming recreations; I say, a young man will

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<sup>(127)</sup> The following anecdote, related by Le Clerc, will serve to illustrate Locke's opinion of card-playing :—"Several noblemen once meeting at Lord Ashley's, sat down somewhat abruptly at the card-table: upon which Locke, taking out his tablets, began attentively to write, lifting up his eyes, and regarding them from time to time. Observing him thus occupied, one of the party inquired what he was writing? To which Locke replied, that being greatly desirous of profiting by their lordships' discourse, he supposed he could not be better employed than in registering the wise sayings which dropped from persons who were esteemed the greatest wits of the age. And thereupon he read the notes he had been making. Finding they appeared to no great advantage in the philosopher's report, the card-table was abandoned, and the remainder of the evening given up to conversation; an amusement more worthy of rational creatures."

have time enough from his serious and main business, to learn almost any trade. It is want of application, and not of leisure, that men are not skillful in more arts than one; and an hour in a day, constantly employed in such a way of diversion, will carry a man in a short time, a great deal farther than he can imagine: which, if it were of no other use but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous pastimes out of fashion, and to show there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If men from their youth were weaned from that sauntering humour, wherein some out of custom let a good part of their lives run uselessly away, without either business or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire dexterity and skill in hundreds of things: which, though remote from their proper callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other reasons before mentioned, a lazy, listless humour, that idly dreams away the days, is of all others the least to be indulged or permitted in young people. It is the proper state of one sick, and out of order in his health, and is tolerable in nobody else, of what age or condition soever.

209. To the arts above mentioned, may be added perfuming, varnishing, graving, and several sorts of working in iron, brass, and silver; and if, as it happens to most young gentlemen, that a considerable part of his time be spent in a great town, he may learn to cut, polish, and set precious stones, or employ himself in grinding and polishing optical

glasses. <sup>(125)</sup> Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious manual arts, it will be impossible that no one should be found to please and delight him, unless he be either idle or debauched, which is not to be supposed in a right way of education. And since he cannot be always employed in study, reading, and conversation, there will be many an hour, besides what his exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For I conclude, a young man will seldom desire to sit perfectly still and idle ; or, if he does, it is a fault that ought to be mended.

#### MERCHANTS' ACCOUNTS.

210. But if his mistaken parents, frightened with the disgraceful names of mechanic and trade, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their children ; yet there is one thing relating to trade, which, when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their sons to learn.

Merchants' accounts, though a science not likely to help a gentleman to get an estate, yet possibly there is not any thing of more use and efficacy, to make him preserve the estate he has. It is seldom observed, that he who keeps an account of his income and expenses, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic affairs, lets

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<sup>(125)</sup> This is dangerous advice. Nothing can be more destructive to health than grinding or cutting glass, as the cadaverous appearance, and premature deaths of those constantly employed in it too clearly show.

them run to ruin: and I doubt not but many a man gets behindhand, before he is aware, or runs farther on, when he is once in, for want of this care, or the skill to do it. I would therefore advise all gentlemen to learn perfectly merchants' accounts, and not to think it is a skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its name from, and has been chiefly practised by men of traffic.

211. When my young master has once got the skill of keeping accounts (which is a business of reason more than arithmetic) perhaps it will not be amiss that his father, from thenceforth, require him to do it in all his concernments. Not that I would have him set down every pint of wine, or play, that costs him money; the general name of expenses will serve for such things well enough: nor would I have his father look so narrowly into these accounts, as to take occasion from thence to criticise on his expenses; he must remember that he himself was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them. If, therefore, I would have the young gentleman obliged to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expenses, (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully master of,) but only, that he might be brought early into the custom of doing it, and that might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practised the whole course of his life. A noble Venetian, whose son wallowed in the plenty

of his father's riches, finding his son's expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered his cashier to let him have for the future no more money than what he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young gentleman's expenses, who could freely have as much money as he would tell: but yet this, to one that was used to nothing but the pursuit of his pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous reflection: If it be so much pains to me barely to count the money I would spend, what labour and pains did it cost my ancestors, not only to count, but to get it? This rational thought, suggested by this little pains imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good husband. This, at least, every body must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass, than the having constantly before his eyes the state of his affairs in a regular course of account.

#### TRAVEL.

212. The last part usually in education, is travel, which is commonly thought to finish the work, and complete the gentleman. I confess travel into foreign countries has great advantages, but the time usually chosen to send young men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those advantages. Those which are proposed, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these two, first, language; secondly, an

improvement in wisdom and prudence, by seeing men, and conversing with people of tempers, customs, and ways of living, different from one another, and especially from those of his parish and neighbourhood. But from sixteen to one and twenty, which is the ordinary time of travel, men are, of all their lives, the least suited to these improvements. <sup>(129)</sup> The first season to get foreign languages, and form the tongue to their true accents, I should think, should be from seven to fourteen or sixteen, and then too, a tutor with them is useful and necessary, who may, with those languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their parents' view at a great distance, under a governor, when they think themselves to be too much men to be governed by others, and yet have not prudence and experience enough to govern themselves, what is it, but to expose them to all the greatest dangers of their whole life, when they have the least fence and guard against them? Until that boiling boisterous part of life comes in,

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<sup>(129)</sup> Gilbert West, in his quaint but interesting poem on the "Abuse of Travelling," argues strenuously against the practice of sending youth abroad, and praises *Lycurgus*, who is supposed to have prohibited foreign peregrinations, no less than the receiving of strangers. He had himself travelled. West, however, approves of

"That politic command,  
Which from vain travel the young Spartan stayed,  
Ne suffered him forsake his native land,  
To learn deceitful arts, and science contraband."

But, perhaps, if we carefully examine the subject, it may be found that the Spartan would have ran little risk of deteriorating by visiting other countries. He might, at least, have improved his humanity.

it may be hoped, the tutor may have some authority : neither the stubbornness of age, nor the temptation or examples of others, can take him from his tutor's conduct till fifteen or sixteen : but then, when he begins' to consort himself with men, and thinks himself one ; when he comes to relish, and pride himself in manly vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the controul and conduct of another, what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet governor, when neither he has power to compel, nor his pupil a disposition to be persuaded ; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm blood and prevailing fashion, to hearken to the temptations of his companions, just as wise as himself, rather than to the persuasions of his tutor, who is now looked on as an enemy to his freedom ? And when is a man so likely to miscarry, as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly ? This is the season of all his life, that most requires the eye and authority of his parents and friends to govern it. The flexibleness of the former part of a man's age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe ; and in the after-part, reason and foresight begin a little to take place, and mind a man of his safety and improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young gentleman to be sent abroad, would be, either when he is younger, <sup>(130)</sup> under a tutor,

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<sup>(130)</sup> It would be still better if the parents, with the whole family, could make the necessary stay in foreign countries. I have seen the experiment frequently made. Children, in this way, may at least learn the modern languages on the plan recommended by Montaigne.

whom he might be the better for; or when he is some years old, without a governor; when he is of age to govern himself, and make observations of what he finds in other countries worthy his notice, and that might be of use to him after his return: and when too, being thoroughly acquainted with laws and fashions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has something to exchange, with those abroad, from whose conversation he hoped to reap any knowledge.

214. The ordering of travel otherwise, is that, I imagine, which makes so many young gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring home with them any knowledge of the places and people they have seen, it is often an admiration of the worst and vainest practices they met with abroad; retaining a relish and memory of those things wherein their liberties took its first swing, rather than of what should make them better and wiser, after their return. And indeed how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the age they do under the care of another, who is to provide their necessaries, and make their observations for them? Thus under the shelter and pretence of a governor, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own legs, or being accountable for their own conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with inquiries, or making useful observations of their own. Their thoughts run after play and pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controlled; but seldom trouble themselves to examine the designs, observe the address, and consi-

der the arts, tempers, and inclinations of men they meet with ; that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them.<sup>(131)</sup> Here he that travels with them, is to screen them ; get them out when they have run themselves into the briars ; and in all their miscarriages be answerable for them.

215. I confess, the knowledge of men is so great a skill, that it is not to be expected a young man should presently be perfect in it. But yet his going abroad is to little purpose, if travel does not sometimes open his eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accustom him to look beyond the outside, and, under the inoffensive guard of a civil and obliging carriage, keep himself free and safe in his conversation with strangers, and all sort of people, without forfeiting their good opinion. He that is sent out to travel at the age, and with the thoughts of a man designing to improve himself, may get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition where he comes ; which, though a thing of most advantage to a gentleman that travels ; yet I ask, amongst our young men, that go abroad under tutors, what one is there of an hundred, that ever visit any person of quality ? much less make an acquaintance with such, from whose conversation he may learn what is good breeding in that country, and what is worth obser-

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(<sup>131</sup>) But among those who travel, there are many whose only object seems to be to exhibit their own ignorance, and disgrace their country ; and they generally succeed to the utmost extent of their wishes.

vation in it; though from such persons it is, one may learn more in one day, than in a year's rambling from one inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wondered; for men of worth and parts will not easily admit the familiarity of boys, who yet need the care of a tutor; though a young gentleman and stranger, appearing like a man, and showing a desire to inform himself in the customs, manners, laws, and government of the country he is in, will find welcome assistance and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing persons everywhere, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance an ingenuous and inquisitive foreigner.

216. This, how true soever it be, will not, I fear, alter the custom, which has cast the time of travel upon the worst part of a man's life; but for reasons not taken from their improvement. The young lad must not be ventured abroad at eight or ten, for fear what may happen to the tender child, though he then runs ten times less risk than at sixteen or eighteen. Nor must he stay at home till that dangerous heady age be over, because he must be back again by one and twenty, to marry, and propagate. The father cannot stay any longer for the portion, nor the mother for a new set of babies to play with; and so my young master, whatever comes of it, must have a wife looked out for him, by the time he is of age; though it would be no prejudice to his strength, his parts, or his issue, if it were respite for some time, and he had leave to get, in years and knowledge, the start a little of his

children, who are often found to tread too near upon the heels of their fathers, to the no great satisfaction either of son or father. <sup>(132)</sup> But the young gentleman being got within view of matrimony, it is time to leave him to his mistress.

### CONCLUSION.

217. Though I am now come to a conclusion of what obvious remarks have suggested to me concerning education, I would not have it thought, that I look on it as a just treatise on this subject. There are a thousand other things, that may need consideration; especially if one should take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults, that are to be found in children, and prescribe proper remedies. The variety is so great, that it would require a volume; nor would that reach it. Each man's mind has some peculiarity, as well as his face, that distinguishes him from all others; and there are possibly scarce two children, who can be conducted by exactly the same method. Besides that, I think a prince, a nobleman, and an ordinary gentleman's son, should have different ways of breeding. But having had here only some general views, in reference to the main end and aims in

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<sup>(132)</sup> All philosophers have condemned too early marriages. Aristotle, without wishing to fix exactly upon a given period, recommends the age of thirty-seven to men, eighteen to women. Plato nearly agreed with him; and Montaigne, who approved of the theory, made some approach to it in practice, for he married at thirty-three. Milton's opinions and practice were nearly the same.

education, and those designed for a gentleman's son, whom being then very little, I considered only as white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases; I have touched little more than those heads which I judged necessary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general; and have now published these my occasional thoughts with this hope, that though this be far from being a complete treatise on this subject, or such as that every one may find what will just fit his child in it, yet it may give some small light to those whose concern for their dear little ones makes them so irregularly bold, that they dare venture to consult their own reason, in the education of their children, rather than wholly to rely upon Old Custom.

THE END.



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